

POST-COLONIAL IDENTITIES

AND

ART EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Ma So Mui

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an inquiry into art educators and art curricula within the context of the reunification of Hong Kong and China. Theoretically it draws specifically on post-colonial theories. Additionally, issues of personal identities and aesthetic preferences were examined by means of questionnaires given to pre-service art teachers. The design of the instruments was inspired by ‘border pedagogy’ and ‘critical theory’, as outlined by Henry Giroux (Giroux, 2005: 24). Reflections on the research design were offered.

The thesis seeks to uncover the impact of colonialism and post-colonialism on art education and on participants’ perceptions of their own identities. This includes participants’ reflections on cultural and gender stereotypes; their responses to conceptions associated with modernist, postmodernist and feminist art; and the impact of modernist progressive thought on their values towards contemporary and traditional life-styles. The impact of colonialism on art curricula in Hong Kong schools prior to 1997 was investigated through analysis of historic documents and archives. Perceptions of participants of their prior art training were also examined. An overview of literature related to Art and culture; post-colonial and identity theories were discussed at the outset. Literature related to the relevant data was analysed qualitatively to provide additional insights.

The results suggest that post-colonial Hong Kong continues in the colonial condition with the persistence of Western influences on art education. With the shift to China, the subordination of Hong Kong identity remains, and established stereotypes were still evident amongst participants. However the growing influence of globalisation has increased the complexity of the hybrid, East-West Hong Kong identity. Implications and recommendations suggest ways forward for visual arts education in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The issue of national identity as a starting point for educational reform

After the return of the sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997, the government of the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) expressed serious concern about the sense of national identity of the Hong Kong people. There was also a demand among educators, politicians and the general public to build up a sense of belonging to the mother country (that is, the PRC). As early as 1992, Paul Morris (1992) observed that the content of school curricula had been revised to enhance pupils' understanding and appreciation of 'their Chinese cultural heritage' and 'the political and economic system in the PRC' in order to prepare pupils as citizens of the PRC, as well as to ensure the stability of Hong Kong (*ibid.*: 125). He argued that the curriculum focused more on promoting pupils' sense of Chinese identity 'than on a loyalty towards or affection for Hong Kong' (*ibid.*: 167). The politicisation of education had therefore already begun, since control over the curriculum had been allowed (Morris, 1988: 519).

The education system in Hong Kong before 1997 was greatly influenced by the British colonial government. Information related to Chinese culture was barely covered in school subjects, with the exception of Chinese language and Chinese history. In the art curriculum it was confined to Chinese art history and the content was limited. In the colonial years local Hong Kong culture was virtually absent from the art curriculum. The emergence of the sovereignty issue of 1997 brought home to the Hong Kong people the identity crisis they were facing: did they have a British-Hong Kong, Chinese-Hong Kong or native Hong Kong identity? It may have surprised the newly established HKSAR government and the authorities in mainland China to find that, alongside a growing consciousness of Chinese national identity, a sense of a Hong Kong identity was also growing in importance. During the post-colonial period Hong Kong people have become aware of a marginalisation of the local identity occurring as political control moves from a colonial to a national government. The complexity of this situation will be discussed in the following chapters.

The new HKSAR government was anxious to promote nationalism as a sign of decolonisation in the early years of its rule. The desire to inculcate in pupils a sense of Chinese identity was made explicit in the first *Policy Address* given by Tung Chee Hwa¹, the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong, in 1997. In this Policy Address, Tung identified a need for strengthening Chinese elements in school education:

... For many years, Hong Kong has been set apart from the Mainland. We have lived in a society and a cultural environment very different from the Mainland. As we face the historic change of being reunited with China, for every individual there is a gradual process of getting to know Chinese history and culture, so as to achieve a sense of belonging. My Administration attaches importance to this process. We will provide resources and will promote educational, recreational and cultural exchange programmes to involve the community fully in this process (Tung Chee Hwa, 1997: point 110).

In response to the Chief Executive's request, in 1998 the Hong Kong Curriculum Development Council reviewed the existence of 'Chinese elements' in all primary and secondary school curricula. 'Chinese elements', as perceived by officials from different subject disciplines and described in this review report, were of two kinds. One was associated with the common practices of the Chinese people, such as festivals, customs, habits, religions, philosophies, morals, social systems, and scientific and artistic achievements of the past. The other was associated with events that had occurred in the PRC, including both historical and contemporary developments or anything bearing the name 'Chinese or PRC' (Curriculum Development Council, 1998: i).

The intention of the first Chief Executive to strengthen local students' knowledge about their 'mother' country reflected his desire for Hong Kong people to be loyal to their nation and to restore unity. The emphasis on the 'recovery' of a national culture is common among post-colonial nations. Jorge Larraín (1994) defines national identity as group allegiances or characteristics shared by individual members of a nation. However, the action recommended by the new Hong Kong Chief Executive may be seen as an example

¹ In order to avoid confusion, all Chinese names, with the exception of those from the mainland, will be spelt using the Hong Kong system, giving the family name (surname) first, followed by the given name, which is usually composed of two characters, both of which are spelt with capital letters: for example, Ma So Mui. Mainland Chinese names will be spelt using the pinyin system: for example, Liang Qichao, where the given name appears as one word in English, rather than two. Other Chinese terms have been translated using the pinyin system of romanisation, except in the case of terms originating in Hong Kong, where the Hong Kong system is used.

of the 'anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization or exclusion from an emerging nationally-imagined community', called 'official nationalism' by Benedict Anderson (2006: 101). Anderson defines the 'nation' as 'an imagined political community', because most of its members never get to know one another, but instead 'live the image of their communion'. He points out that communities are larger than that which is implied by simple 'face-to-face contact', hence the requirement that they should be imagined. Communities are also distinguished by their imagined styles and therefore it could be said that 'nations' are invented. This gives rise to the 'awakening of nations to self-consciousness', which Anderson maintains is merely an act of imagination. To him, the 'imagined community' is produced as a threat to the 'Other' (Anderson, 1991: 6-7). In agreement with this view, Larrain (1994) points out that the concept of national identity discriminates against all those who do not belong to this 'identity', according to one's imagination. It also marginalises people or behaviour which do not belong to the dominant culture. Sometimes the 'Other' is invented to protect the privilege of particular people (Fine, 1983). Said (1993: xii –xiii) warns us that the way students are taught about their national classics often leads them 'to accept uncritically the traditions of their nations while denigrating or fighting against others'. In the case of Hong Kong, a shift of emphasis onto one identity, namely the 'Chinese' identity, will create tensions among other identities, such as those of immigrants from other parts of the world (for example, Indians who have been working in Hong Kong since the colonial period and have been Hong Kong citizens for many generations). This will initiate new power struggles.

Although most (95% of the 6.94 million overall population of Hong Kong)^{w1} Hong Kong people are ethnic Chinese, their knowledge of China and their Chinese ethnicity is limited. Under the prolonged influence of a colonial government, they have become more attached to Western than to Chinese values. The results of a survey carried out by Lau Siu Kai in 1997 revealed that Hong Kong Chinese identified with their local identity more than with their 'Chinese' national identity (Lau, 1997: 4-5). As a result of their past colonial experience, Hong Kong people had become used to their British-Hong Kong nationality as inscribed in the British National (Overseas) (BNO) passport, which differentiates their identity from that of immigrants from mainland China, who held what was called a

Certificate of Identity (CI) during the colonial years. BNO holders enjoyed the privilege of being able to travel to foreign countries, while holders of the CI did not. Moreover, under British rule, the Hong Kong people lacked information about and contact with people living in the PRC. In the first years after the reunification with the PRC, therefore, the Hong Kong people needed to expend some effort on 'imagining' their Chinese identity.

It is difficult to maintain a 'pure', 'untouched' culture nowadays because of frequent migrations and the effect of globalisation owing to advancements in communication technologies. Cultural exchange is common around the world. It has a 'pluralizing impact' on cultures and has resulted in cultural diversity in contemporary societies (Hall, 1992: 302-305). Every culture responds to the influence of globalisation and tends to become hybrid. This includes China and Hong Kong. For this reason it is not easy to identify purely 'Chinese elements' from among teaching subjects. For example, among reviewers of the art curriculum, Buddhism is today taken to be a Chinese element (Curriculum Development Council, 1998: 42). However, this religion originated in India, and was only later adopted by the Chinese. But in the school curriculum, information about Buddhist art from India and other countries is seldom provided. It seems obvious that such a limited scope will not provide students with a complete picture of what is happening around the world.

In addition, by identifying 'Chinese painting' as a purely Chinese element, the reviewers have neglected the complexity of the developments in this art form. In the early twentieth century, many Chinese students who had returned from abroad developed a hybrid style of Chinese painting by adopting Western styles or using Western media. In the complex cultural environment of today, where cultural flow occurs at different levels and in different circumstances, it is practically impossible to draw a clear boundary between 'Chinese' and 'non-Chinese', because, according to Sahasrabudhe (1992: 44), 'all cultures absorb, transform, reshape and readjust'. Said (1993: 15) insists that 'cultures actually assume more "foreign" elements, alterities, differences, than they consciously exclude'. Couldry (2000: 92) conceives that it is not possible to achieve national unity on the basis of a 'distinctive and shared culture'.

The above theories gave rise to many questions in my mind: how could the strengthening of Chinese elements promote our Chinese identity? How could these

elements inculcate a sense of belonging to the Chinese nation? Why is it so important to emphasise a Chinese identity at this juncture? What alternative is there to the threat imagined by the new authorities? Perhaps the emphasis on re-acquiring a Chinese identity could be seen as an act of ‘anti-colonial nationalism’, which refers to the ‘struggle to represent, create or recover a culture and a selfhood that has been systematically repressed and eroded during colonial rule’, as conceptualised by Loomba (1998/2005: 217).

As I anticipated, the movement to enhance a sense of national identity through emphasising Chinese elements could not be sustained. In 1999, the Curriculum Development Council conducted a holistic review of the Hong Kong school curriculum. This marked the beginning of the educational reforms. In 2001, a policy paper entitled *Learning to Learn: Life-long Learning and Whole-person Development* was published. In response to the challenges produced by global trends in educational development, and to feedback from members of the public, the focus of the curriculum was shifted from merely emphasising a Chinese national identity to ‘help[ing] students meet the challenges of a knowledge-based, interdependent and changing society, as well as globalisation, fast technological development, and a competitive economy’, taking into consideration the ‘authentic and practical experiences of schools, local research, policy context of Hong Kong, and different perspectives of international development’ (Curriculum Development Council, 2001: i). It was believed that ‘[a] sense of national identity’ could be ‘cultivated through understanding elements of Chinese history and culture’ (*ibid.*: 23), ‘fostered through moral and civic education ... and also across KLAs [Key Learning Areas]² in appropriate themes, learning and teaching strategies’ (*ibid.*: 25).

In the curriculum guide for the KLA of arts education, the problem of too strong an emphasis on Western arts in the past was acknowledged. It was believed that

Arts Education is an effective means to help students experience their own culture and understand its values. It allows students to understand their national identity and be committed to improving the nation and society’ (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b: 48).

I think the students’ ‘own culture’ mentioned here refers to Chinese culture. Elements of the local Hong Kong culture are never mentioned. This sense of ‘national belonging’, as

² The eight Key Learning Areas are: Chinese Language Education, English Language Education, Mathematics Education, Personal, Social and Humanities Education, Science Education, Technology Education, Arts Education and Physical Education.

experiencing their own culture and learning to understand its values, students would conceived by Beverley Skeggs (2004: 19), 'constitutes the symbolic capital of the field and to belong is to legitimate'. She defines 'symbolic capital' as 'the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognised as legitimate' (*ibid.*: 17). The 'accumulated national cultural capital' can be legitimised 'by the dominant cultural grouping'. Its aim is 'to convert it into national belonging'. Skeggs argues that 'the imaginary nation' relies on constructing the Other as an 'object of spatial exclusion' and claims that 'those who really belong have to display and embody the right characteristics and dispositions' (*ibid.*: 19). Hence, the marginalised Hong Kong people have to conform to the identified characteristics of the Chinese.

Instead of shifting the focus from Western arts to Chinese arts, the revised arts education policy set out in the document entitled *Arts Education: Key Learning Area Curriculum Guide Primary 1-Secondary 3* recommends a balance between Chinese and Western arts 'and also arts from other cultures which our students might come across in their daily lives' (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b: 48). This concern to maintain a balance among cultures in the curriculum is a sign of a shift from the initial orientation towards nationalism/decolonisation (or 'anti-colonialism') towards a more global perspective.

I think the transition of Hong Kong from the colonial to the post-colonial period did not take away the 'brains of the colonised', as Frantz Fanon (1963/1983: 169) puts it. In Ania Loomba's opinion, there are multiple conflicts in the once-colonised countries, and the focus of post-colonialism has shifted from locations and institutions to individuals and their subjectivities (Loomba, 1998/2005: 17). The concept of colonialism has extended to include subjectification through the domination of capitalism. In post-colonial Hong Kong, Japanese culture is more influential over young people than Western cultures. The idea of domination and subordination has been extended to daily life practices: for instance, it may be seen in the differences between the aesthetic preferences of those people who belong to the avant-garde and those of working-class people (Williams, 1981/1986: 130; Edwards 1999: 222). Power struggles also take place between classes, genders, adherents to different traditions and so on. We would miss the key points if we focused merely on conflicts between East and West, or the local and national. Living in a world with a

hybridity of cultures, people in Hong Kong are likely to be affected by them in many ways. I believe that the values people hold regarding other cultures affect their attitudes and responses to these cultures (the strategies and tactics used in reaction to conditions of domination and subordination are identified in Chapters 5 and 8). Since stereotyping is the key issue in the discourses of post-colonialism and feminism, it therefore became one of my research foci. My intention was to make people aware of the issue of stereotyping, rather than to conduct a study of the content and effects of stereotyping.

However, I have discovered that the values of the real players, that is, the school teachers, have not been taken into account when the curriculum was designed. Whether the stated goals can be achieved is therefore questionable. As Magendzo (1988: 25) points out, 'Intellectuals and teachers have their own particular bias in interpreting culture and their own understandings of the way to codify power'. It is my contention that unless the human factors involved are taken into account, it will be impossible to implement the new curriculum effectively.

The issue of Othering and its relationship with identities

Being a trainer of visual arts teachers at the Hong Kong Institute of Education (the major provider of visual arts teacher training courses in Hong Kong), I have a clear perception of the need both to be aware of the changes brought about by current educational reforms and to train visual arts teachers in accordance with these developments. However, having been inspired by the work of Michelle Fine, I am also aware of the problem of 'Othering' and the 'co-construction' of the 'Selves-Others' relationship (Fine, 1994: 70-71). 'By *working the hyphen* [original emphasis]', Fine reminds us that researchers and informants are in 'multiple' relations. The "relations between" get us "better" data... make us quick to interpret and hesitant to write' within the 'negotiated relations' between researchers and informants (*ibid.*: 72). She argues that the relationship between the researcher and his subjects resembles the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, since it is the oppressor/researcher who defines the problem, the nature of the research and so on (*ibid.*: 73).

In the case of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong people are being 'Othered' by both the coloniser and the mother country, because the Hong Kong people continue to maintain

‘Selves-Others’ relationships in the transition from British Hong Kong to Chinese Hong Kong. The former type of oppression can be explained by colonial theory. In the latter case, the Hong Kong identity is being suppressed by the movement to strengthen national identity. This is regarded by Fine (1994: 73) as the effect of maintaining the social order ‘while obscuring the privileged stances’ by means of ‘Master Narratives’. She also queries the possibility of having neutral researchers, since all researchers must of necessity possess particular ‘race’, ‘class’ or ‘gender’ identities (*ibid.*: 74). She reminds researchers to be ‘self-conscious’ of the fact that ‘all narratives about Others both inscribe and resist othering’, when conducting research studies (*ibid.*: 75). The constructions of Selves and Others are never ‘fixed’, and always involve ‘partialities and pluralities’ (*ibid.*: 79). In line with Fine’s theory, I would like to point out that, as the researcher of this study, I am a female Chinese, born in Hong Kong, that I received a colonial education in Hong Kong during my primary and secondary schooling and underwent tertiary education in Britain. Living in a Chinese society but having been influenced by a British education, I have adopted both Chinese and Western values. These facts will undoubtedly have affected how I have interpreted the responses of the participants (who are pre-service teachers and my students) in this research.

Fine insists that we should be conscious of ‘dominant Others’: in ‘[d]eploying what might be called *technologies of Othering* [original emphasis] (borrowing from deLauretis, 1987), those studied seem to narrate collective, homogeneous identities by constructing collective, homogeneous identities for Others’ (Fine, 1994: 78). I have also been influenced by the ‘border pedagogy’ suggested by Aronowitz and Giroux (1991: 128) ‘to acknowledge differences by allowing students to present their voices and to give meanings to themselves’ (this notion is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3).

Colonial influence on art education in Hong Kong

It appears to me that the school curriculum in Hong Kong today (after 1997) still displays a strong emphasis on Western cultures, as a result of the influence of a hundred years of colonial history. We are currently using an educational system adopted from the West. Morris (1988: 511) notices that there was a local dependency on foreign curricula, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. He argues that this was a result of

the domination of expatriates at senior levels of the Education Department and the tertiary institutions, the use of overseas study visits by officials of the [Education Departments], especially to the UK to identify curricular trends and innovations for adoption in Hong Kong, and a reliance on visiting curriculum ‘experts’ from the UK (Morris, 1988: 512).

Besides the education system and the curricula, the colonial government also exercised control through its deployment of human resources in education. In the 1950s all inspectors in the Education Department were expatriates from Britain. These included people like Ms Helen O’Connor, Mrs Ann Devoy and Mr M. F. Griffith; while expatriate lecturers in the teacher training colleges included Mrs Attwell and Mr John Warner, and in the 1970s, Mrs H.T. Stewart (Ng H. S., 2000: 63, 65). Up until 2007, local art educators had either been trained abroad or educated by Western-trained educators. These include early art educators in the colleges of education, such as Miss Ng Chi Bing, Mr Poon Wen Keung, Mr Siu Chi Mo, Mr Chan Ping Tim, Mr Leung Sung Hoi, Miss Cheung Man Ha, and Miss Kwok Yuen Han; the first Chinese Chief Inspector in art, Mr Kwok Chiu Leung, and other inspectors such as Lee Kwok Fai and Yeung Wai Fung (*ibid.*); lecturers currently at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, Dr Lai Ming Hoi and Dr Tam Cheung On. They may have transmitted Western ideas as a result of the training they received abroad. This dependence on training and personnel from the West has resulted in the dominance of Western culture in the Hong Kong curriculum. In fact, Hong Kong has been so deeply Westernised that almost every aspect of people’s lives, including architecture, furniture, fashion, food and music, has been affected.

The study of culture becomes an integral part of the contemporary visual arts curriculum and there arises a need for cultural research related to visual arts education

The term ‘culture’ was seldom addressed in the past but has now come into widespread use among all disciplines in Hong Kong in recent years. In the *Syllabus³ for Art and Craft: Primary 1-6, 1995*, ‘culture’ is referred to in the phrase ‘the contributions of art in cultures

³ The term ‘syllabus’ meant the officially approved common curriculum to be used in all schools in Hong Kong. It did not refer to the course outlines of individual schools. It was used in Hong Kong during the period before the publication of the *Learning to Learn: Life-long Learning and Whole-person Development, 2000* policy document (referred to as the education reform).

and societies', where 'art' is the subject of focus, rather than cultures (Curriculum Development Council, 1995: 10). However, in the *Arts Education: Key Learning Area Curriculum Guide, Primary 1-Secondary 3*, it is proposed that arts education should help students '[to] build up cultural awareness and effective communication' (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b: 3). One of the four learning targets, 'Understanding arts in context', states that: 'Students should be able to understand the cultural contexts in which the arts are placed and their relationship to people's lives and societies at large' (*ibid.*: 25). Here, the learning of 'arts' is located within the context of cultures. A shift in the focus of interest is observed (the relationship between art and culture is discussed in Chapter 2) .

A comparison of the conceptions of 'values and attitudes' between the *Learning to Learn: Key Learning Areas, Arts Education* consultation document published in 2000 and the final version published in 2002 (see Appendix III Table 1.1) reflects a shift in the attitude of policy makers from the narrow scope of 'nationalism' in 2000 to a more open-minded concept of diverse cultures with more global considerations. In 2000, the content under 'Values and attitudes' reads:

identify their cultural values and attitudes as well as understand their origins and histories; and reflect upon and value their lives, communities, societies and cultures in relation to the arts (Curriculum Development Council, 2000: 13).

In 2002, the content of 'Values and attitudes' is replaced by the following:

keep abreast of global trends and adapt these to suit the local context; understand, respect and accommodate the diverse cultures and beliefs of different parts of the world; and respect, appreciate and demonstrate open-mindedness towards arts expressions that are different from their own (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b: 45).

This indicates policy makers' awareness of current trends in the world and their desire to move in this direction. As a teacher trainer, I regard the building up of teachers' competence in terms of acquiring the necessary knowledge, attitudes and values, as well as a sensitivity towards the current cultural transformation, to be of vital importance within this new initiative.

In the early twenty-first century, many educators are exploring ways to teach art in relation to cultures. Few of them, however, attempt to address cultural issues. A survey of articles related to cultural issues published in the *International Journal of Art and Design Education* between 1997 and 2003 revealed that 94.4% (n=34) of the articles were

concerned with the study of theoretical concepts or cultural phenomena. Between 2000 and 2003, only 11.1% (n=4) of them dealt with approaches to teaching culture (see Appendix III Table 1.2). From Table 1.3 (see Appendix III), it may be seen that the four most popular themes from 1997 to 1999 were: feminism/gender issues, cultural traditions, identity, and cross-cultural perspective/comparison/influence. However, from 2000 onwards there was a shift in the focus of interest. The top items on the list then read: identity, cross-cultural perspective/comparison/influence, cultural context/site, and visual culture. Fewer people seemed to be interested in investigating cultural traditions as fixed entities. Instead, new themes, such as ‘globalisation’ and ‘socio-cultural activity involving the significant others’, were emerging. An interest in the study of ‘identity’ from different perspectives remains central among scholars. Examples of articles on this subject are: ‘Practice-based research degree students in art and design: identity and adaptation’, by John Hockey (2003: 82-91); ‘Children’s drawing, self-expression, identity and the imagination’, by Bryan Hawkins (2002: 209-219); and ‘Traditional culture, architecture and design in the Kurpie Region of Poland: past and present education and cultural identity’, by Mariusz Samoraj (1998: 161-170). I agree that it is important to study the issue of cultural identity when studying culture.

On the other hand, only one scholar has conducted a study related to the ‘significant other’, which she did through an examination of children’s concepts of the self revealed through drawing (Anning, 2002: 197-208). Articles dealing with the impact of the Other on self-identity are rare, and there has also been a limited amount of research carried out on pedagogies used to teach cultural issues (a thesis entitled *Museum Education and International Understanding: Representations of Japan at the British Museum*, by Yuka Inoue (2005) is one of the few studies on this subject); hence, there is a need for this kind of study.

Marland (1997: 6) argues that ‘The overriding issue is how we can help our pupils balance world knowledge with a depth of understanding of roots: that is a characteristic of our modern world’. He insists that teaching should include a range of cultural traditions and that pupils should acquire a triple set of perspectives: namely, ‘the local traditions, their family inheritance and the international conspectus’ (*ibid.*: 5). I agree with Marland’s point of view, and these perspectives can be identified in this research study, in which persistent

reference to local traditions is maintained in all the questionnaires. Moreover, family inheritance is addressed in the questionnaire on contemporary and traditional lifestyles. It is also discussed with the issue of gender identities. Attention is paid to international conspectus in the questionnaires on national identities and participants' individual aesthetic preferences.

II. THE RESEARCH

Research title, focus and objective of the study

The title of my research is:

Post-colonial identities and art education in Hong Kong.

In this thesis I use the terms 'art' and 'art education' because these terms were used in Hong Kong during the period on which this study is focused: that is, prior to the educational reform commenced in 2002. After the introduction of education reform, the general term 'art', which refers to all arts, was changed to 'visual arts'. By contrast, prior to 2002, 'art' was differentiated from 'craft' and 'design', hence the subject for primary schools was called 'Art and Craft' and for secondary schools, 'Art and Design'. Here, craft was conceived as relating to a lower level of ability and was subsidiary to art. Design was differentiated from art because design was regarded as being related to functional needs. Art was related to aesthetic pleasure, which demands disinterestedness, a higher level of enjoyment conceptualised by modernists (see Chapter 2). The shift to the use of the term 'visual arts' symbolises the level of equality now accorded the various art forms. Since the focus of my study is on the power struggles prior to the education reform, however, I use the term 'art' throughout this study.

The focus of the study is on identity issues involved in the power struggle between the coloniser and the colonised, or the dominant and subordinate, in contexts related to art education in Hong Kong, with particular attention being paid to the perceptions of pre-service art teachers in Hong Kong during the early post-colonial period.

The objective of the study is to investigate the impact of a variety of cultural issues on the perceptions of pre-service Hong Kong teachers of their own identities in relation to

Others in different contexts. These cultural issues include those related to race, gender and class, as well as modern and postmodern aesthetics.

Research questions

The research questions I wish to investigate in this study are:

1. What were the characteristics of the colonial and post-colonial primary and secondary school art curricula?
2. What are the perceptions of certain preservice teachers of their own identities and those of Others?
3. What are the identity issues involved in the process of post-colonial development in Hong Kong?

Research methodology

This research investigates identity issues related to art education in post-colonial Hong Kong. It attempts to address post-coloniality from multiple perspectives using diverse theories. For instance, the impacts of modern and postmodern aesthetics on participants' aesthetic preferences were contrasted. Feminist theory was incorporated into the identification of participants' views on feminist art and gender stereotypes. The theories of nationalism, colonialism, de-colonialism and post-colonialism were discussed in the study of participants' self-image and their image of the Other from another country. The investigation into participants' values regarding contemporary and traditional lifestyles involved drawing a contrast between the progressive values of modernism and globalisation and the values of past traditions.

With the exception of the questionnaire on the participants' prior training in art, all the other questionnaires were structured according to a binary 'I' and 'Other' relationship. Participants were to respond to the questionnaires in pairs, one taking the role of 'I', the other taking the role of the 'Other'. The use of this structure did not follow the same binary relationship of coloniser/colonised or the power struggle between 'us' and 'them', as conceptualised by Edward Said. Rather, it was a way to encourage dialogue between the 'I' and the 'Other'. It was adopted from the 'border pedagogy' of critical theory suggested

by Henry Giroux (2005: 24), who perceives post-colonial theories as being of a complex and contradictory nature involving a multiplicity of theories.

The participants in this study were those of my students who were taking the *Art and Culture* module in the second year of study as part of the full-time Bachelor of Education (Honours) (Primary) Programme at the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIED). Being a participant researcher, my identity and position certainly had some effect on participants' responses, therefore my voice is present throughout this research study. I support Giroux's view that nurturing students' critical ability can both empower them and improve the social world. Therefore, the use of border pedagogy in the questionnaires served a dual purpose: that of collecting data as well as an educational purpose. Throughout this study I have attempted to investigate the politics of power related to various identity issues in light of the views of the post-structuralists and their critics. The multiple subject positions of the self in relation to race, class and gender have also been analysed.

This research has made use of documentary analysis and questionnaires in the collection of data. The documents involved were mainly the curricula of primary and secondary schools prior to 1997, that is, those issued during the colonial period. During the early post-colonial period, between 1997 and 2002, there was no change in the curriculum. Since this research study was conducted in 2002, the above time frame encompassed the period during which the participants received their prior training in art. Five questionnaires on different issues were given to the participants during the first fifteen minutes of five different sessions. The first questionnaire was on participants' perceptions regarding their prior training in art. The data obtained from this questionnaire were compared with the content analysis of the curriculum documents and the data obtained from the other questionnaires to see how art education worked in the colonial and early post-colonial period in Hong Kong.

Different cultural issues were addressed in the other four questionnaires. Questionnaire Two was concerned with identity issues related to participants' aesthetic preferences. Through the participants' responses, their values related to modern and postmodern aesthetics could be identified. The power politics operating in relation to class was revealed through the participants' responses to high art and popular art. Questionnaire Three studied participants' perceptions of their own identity in relation to people from

another country. Another set of questionnaires with similar categories was distributed to people of different nationalities to reflect views from other perspectives. In these circumstances, the Hong Kong participants and the Others from different nations were both the 'I' and the 'Other', depending on their standpoints. Questionnaire Four studied the participants' perceptions of contemporary and traditional lifestyles. Their views were compared with modernist ideas of progress and traditions. Special attention was paid to family culture. From the participants' responses their degree of understanding of past Chinese traditions and their degree of attachment to modernist values could be determined. Questionnaire Five investigated issues related to gender identities. In this questionnaire, gender stereotypes of the self, both in the family and in work contexts, were studied. Participants' perceptions of reasons for acceptance and rejection of feminist art were examined. The last part of all these four questionnaires emphasised the possibilities of alternative perspectives when viewing a particular problem or issue. Most of the data collected were analysed by means of content analysis, supplemented by statistical analysis.

The literature review contained in Chapter Two provides a comprehensive overview of the general theories related to art and culture. Detailed discussions of particular theories relevant to the individual questionnaires are presented at the beginning of the chapters on research methodology and data analysis: namely, Chapters Three to Eight. In order to provide a clearer picture of contextual factors, a general account of how Chinese people addressed the particular issues in the past is provided at the beginning of these chapters. There follows a discussion of how Hong Kong people address these issues. This serves as background information for the analysis of the data. A summary of the findings, implications, and recommendations for future curricula and educators is presented in Chapter Nine. A review of the research design and process is presented in Chapter Nine.

The results reveal that in the post-colonial condition, the identities of the participants shifted according to context, and when they were responding to different people, in relation to their nationality, gender, lifestyle and class (as reflected by their aesthetic preference). The prior art training of the Hong Kong participants might have had some impact on their perceptions. This conforms to Hall's contention that identities are always in a state of 'process', 'never finished or completed', because they are 'constantly producing and

reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference', and shifting positions as a result of the politics of positioning (Hall, 1990: 222-235).

In this chapter I have presented the background to the research, outlined the purpose of the study and the main research questions, and provided an overview of the layout of the thesis. The next chapter will provide a review of literature related to art, culture, post-colonialism and other relevant theories.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter provides a general overview of literature related to art, culture, post-colonialism and identities. It is divided into three parts. The first part contains a discussion of the concepts of art and culture and the relationships between them. The second part focuses on the impact of post-colonialism, identities and Otherness on art and culture from different perspectives and also investigates the factors affecting the relationships between them. The last part examines literature related to art education. Literature related specifically to the five areas of interest in this study: namely, the impact of colonialism on art education in Hong Kong, cultural identities, traditional and contemporary cultures, aesthetic preference, gender stereotypes and feminist art, is discussed at the beginning of each of the chapters concerned in order to provide further insights when conducting the data analysis.

The development of art education in Hong Kong as revealed by my personal experience of art training and teaching

Since I was born and educated in Hong Kong, from primary to secondary school, and did my teacher training at the Northcote and Grantham Colleges of Education in Hong Kong, the history of my own training in art may shed light on the development from colonial to post-colonial art education on the island. During my primary school years in the 1960s I was taught art by my English teacher. During art lessons we were often given a title for a picture and then allowed complete freedom to paint whatever we wanted. There were no instructions, nor any demonstrations of artistic skills. I was often asked to help decorate the school display board because my teacher appreciated my talent in art. I do not, however, regard this as an example of the child-centred

approach which gave rise to so much debate in the West. It was merely an outcome of the *laissez-faire* policy on art education and the low status accorded the subject compared to the core subjects of Chinese, English and Mathematics. At that time the subject of art was considered a leisure subject, and there was no examination to evaluate our artistic performance; the students' reports thus did not include any art assessment result.

In the 1970s I studied at a government secondary school. Colonial influence could be found everywhere: on every wall and corner of the staircases there were displays of famous Western historical paintings. At least three times a day we walked from the playground to our classrooms, which gave us many opportunities to examine these paintings. With this frequent exposure to the historical artwork of the West I grew to like it. I spent most of my library periods reading books on Renaissance Art. Throughout our secondary school years we learned mainly about Western media. Since my realistic drawing skills were better than those of my classmates I managed to win many competitions and my school certificate examination result was good. This emphasis on realism reflects the pre-modern influence on art in Hong Kong during that period. Although some control was exerted over the environmental influence of Western art I do not regard this as the type of influence advocated by Richardson (to be discussed later in this chapter), since the teaching strategies remained teacher-centred: the teacher set a title and the students worked according to his instructions.

I received my art training at the colleges of education, including my initial teacher training and Specialist's Art Teacher Training in the late 1970s. Here I met the English expatriate, Miss Carlson, to teach me art. I was somewhat in awe of her (because I was not accustomed to her teaching approach) but I was amazed by how she taught. I learned how to simplify forms and create something unusual. We did not know what the results of our work would be until the end of the learning process. Miss Carlson

did not give us complete freedom but provided progressive guidance, in a similar way to Richardson (see page 55). The other lecturer teaching the course was a Mrs Goudie. She was one of the lecturers sponsored by the government to study art education from the UK. During her lessons she would repeatedly ask us to experiment with materials and forms. At the time, we were at a bit at a loss as to what she expected us to do. Now I realise that she was employing the experimental approach advocated by Dewey (discussed on page 102). There was no Art History lesson at that time.

During the late 1980s I started teaching at the Sir Robert Black College of Education. By that time Art History was being taught as one of the art subjects. The other elements of the art curriculum remained technique- and media-based. It was not until 1994 that the amalgamation of the five colleges of education into the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIEd) brought about some changes in the art curriculum. A module of *Contextual and Critical Studies* was introduced to replace the existing Art History subject. Another module, called *Foundation of Art*, in which elements of art and design principles were taught, was also introduced. This development revealed the continued influence of the West: for example, the visual studies (discussed on page 56), Critical Studies (discussed on pages 57-58) and Discipline-based Art Education (discussed on pages 58-59) movements.

The curriculum reform, begun in the 2000s, brought about further changes in the art curriculum both at schools and at the HKIEd. As mentioned in Chapter One, the post-colonial situation had resulted in the demand to enhance the teaching of Chinese culture and as a consequence the cultural element was now being emphasised. In 2001 I was assigned to teach a newly introduced *Art and Culture* module which was developed by one of my colleagues. The content of the module emphasised the past achievements of the Chinese. In the module a contrast was consistently drawn between Western and Chinese philosophies and aesthetics. The more I read about

cultural theories the more I came to disagree with this nationalistic way of presenting the knowledge of art. In my view, students need to learn about the recent development of post-colonial theories around the world and alternative views on art and culture. The following is an account of the theories related to art and culture which I think would help my students and art educators to understand the theoretical underpinning and diversity of thoughts about art, as well as the impact of post-colonialism on art.

I. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ART AND CULTURE

The concept of culture and its relationship to art

Culture is a complex term because it encompasses a variety of meanings and concepts. Raymond Williams (1921-1988) (1985) identified three categories of usage: culture is used to describe 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'; it 'indicates a particular way of life'; and it 'describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity' (*ibid.*: 90). In its early usage, the word 'culture' was used to describe crops or animals. It referred to 'natural growth'. Later, it was extended to 'a process of human development' (*ibid.*: 87). On the other hand, Williams (*ibid.*: 40) found the early meaning of the term 'art' to be 'any kind of skills'. In my view, the acquisition of artistic 'skills' is itself a process of development, and therefore, I think 'culture' is clearly related to 'art' in this sense. In the eighteenth century, the concepts of 'cultivation' and 'civilisation' were introduced by Enlightenment historians in England and France. By the nineteenth century, the concept of culture had been transformed to refer to intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development. Williams (1985) conceives this change as being associated with class distinctions. He observed that, at the time when he lived, the meaning of the term 'art' had been extended from referring to human skills to 'other human activities and to society as a whole' (Williams, 1983: xvi). There was a growing tendency to regard

‘culture’ as ‘a whole way of life’ (*ibid.*: xviii). In summary, there are four stages of development in the meaning of the term ‘culture’, as identified by Williams: it refers firstly to ‘a general state or habit of the mind’, which is related to ‘human perfection’; secondly to ‘the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole’; thirdly to ‘the general body of the arts’; and fourthly to ‘a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual’ (*ibid.*: xvi).

Both art and culture react to changes in our social, economic and political life. Owing to their complex interrelationship, changes on one side might have a significant impact on the other. A discussion of art that does not consider culture cannot provide a full picture of what is happening in the world.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) (1960 [first published in 1899]: 66) claimed that culture can prevent the ‘spoiling’ of ‘the nature of the body and the nature of the mind’, and that ‘art adds something to both’. Similarly, George Simmel (1858-1918) conceived culture as ‘refinement’, ‘the intellectualized forms of life’, and ‘the accomplishment of mental and practical labour’. In his view, subjective culture refers to the personal development attained; while objective culture refers to a perfect state of things or a way leading to the ‘higher life of the individual or the community’ (Frisby & Featherstone, 1997: 45). Simmel considered the perfection of a work of art to be an ‘objective value’ which is independent of our subjective experience because the way in which an artwork is presented is an artistic ideal. The presentation of the artwork is related to the meaning it carries (*ibid.*: 36-38). Culture is considered to be the outcome of actions taken by individuals who try their best to achieve perfection, and a distinctive synthesis of the subjective and objective spirits (*ibid.*: 46). Simmel’s idea is similar to that of Williams, who believes that personal experience is involved in the formation of the meaning of culture, and that personal experience definitely ‘affect[s] the meaning and practice of art’ (Williams, 1983: xviii). These theories seem to support the idea

that art functions within culture.

Art as related to functionalist theories

The development in the understanding of what is meant by art is closely related to the development in our understanding of what constitutes culture. As mentioned above, Williams (1985: 40) has shown that, from the thirteenth century onwards, the word 'art' referred to 'any kind of skills'. However, since the mid-nineteenth century, the concept of skills has been confined to those imaginative and creative skills possessed by a limited number of people with talent in art. In the nineteenth century sensory knowledge was regarded as inferior to rational thinking. The view of production skills as being inferior to creative skills was largely the result of the importance accorded to science during the Enlightenment¹ in the early nineteenth century, and ideas promoted by influential 'classical rationalists' such as Kant (Preziosi 1998: 65), Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) and their followers in art: Roger Fry (1866-1934), Clive Bell (1881-1964) and Clement Greenberg (1909-1995) (their theories will be discussed later in this chapter). Up until the eighteenth century, art was tied to the rational development of science. However from the mid-nineteenth century onwards it was contrasted with industrial products in terms of the difference in skills involved. Under the impact of capitalism, attention shifted from 'use value to exchange value' and fine arts were distinguished from useful arts (Williams, 1985: 42). Davis argues that the identification of what is important in a work of art has directed our attention to the

¹ 'The Enlightenment project is associated with humanistic scepticism, political reform and a thorough-going belief in the efficacy of science and the centrality of man (as opposed to God)' (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 275).

'qualities of significance embedded within the work of art'. He calls this a

functionalist definition of art which is 'inseparably bound to society and culture and must be reframed as culture evolves and changes' (Elliot, 1996: 45-46).

Art as related to the intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development concept of culture

'Art' is also used as an abstract term, and as such is related to the development of culture and aesthetics. Williams (1983) defines aesthetics as the judgement of art. Aesthetics refers to 'questions of visual appearance and effect', and its aim is to identify that which is 'fine' or 'beautiful' (Williams, 1976/1981: 28). In the theory of Alexander Baumgarten (1714-1762), the founder of aesthetics, the artistic ideals are 'goodness, beauty and truth'. Baumgarten conceived 'truth' as the object of logical knowledge, 'beauty' as the object of aesthetic knowledge, and claimed that 'goodness is the perfect reached by moral will'. To reach perfection in beauty, our senses are required. Baumgarten regarded the highest beauty as embodied in nature, therefore to copy nature is the highest aim of art. 'The aim of beauty itself is to please and excite a desire', and thus beauty is defined by the involvement of pleasure (Tolstoy, 1959 [first published in 1898]: 92). Scholars such as Sulzer and Mendelssohn defined beauty as 'goodness'. To Mendelssohn, 'the aim of art is moral perfection' (*ibid.*: 93). Tolstoy (1898/1959: 288) anticipated that there would be a 'universal art' guided by religious perception. It 'will unite different people in one common feeling'.

Williams observes that, in England, people's attitudes towards artistic production changed during the Industrial Revolution (by the end of the eighteenth century). Under the influence of the theory of 'imaginative truth', artistic productions were regarded as 'specialized kinds of production'; art became 'superior reality', and the artist became the 'autonomous genius'. Williams (1983) explains that the term 'superior reality' does not mean an imitation of natural beauty or works already done,

but rather, an imitation of universal reality (*ibid.*: 32). The ‘Romantic artists’ [Williams’ term] claimed that they could read ‘the open secret of the universe’, that they could perceive and represent ‘essential reality’ through their own imagination. In this case the focus of art is shifted from ‘artistic skills’ to ‘artistic sensibility’. Concepts such as ‘creative’, ‘original, spontaneity, vitalism and genius’ (*ibid.*: 44) are developed accordingly. In this way the ‘ultimate power’ of ‘great art’ is established and artworks become a ‘self-pleading ideology’ (*ibid.*: 47).

The concept of modern art and its relationship to culture

The above concepts are closely related to the modern art development. Owing to its complexity, it is necessary to distinguish the terms modern, modernity and modernism. According to Williams (1976/1981: 174), the term ‘modern’ was initially used to describe ‘something existing now’. It was not until the twentieth century that the term also came to mean ‘improved, satisfactory or efficient’.

Under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, the term ‘modernity’ came to include cultural, political and psychological aspects (Lechte, 2003: 159). Lechte states that the features of ‘modernity’ include ‘the rise of a complex money economy and the market system’; the development towards a literate society through the popularisation of education that led to a ‘revolution in forms of communication’, which in turn made possible an increase in the expression of public opinion; as well as an emphasis on rationality, freedom and individual rights (*ibid.*: 159-160). It is the last of the above-mentioned points that is relevant to this thesis.

According to Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (2003/2004: 2, 1014), the term ‘modernism’ refers to ‘a movement in modern art as a form of independent culture’, which commenced at the end of the nineteenth century and declined in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the advent of postmodernism. Meecham and Sheldon, on the

other hand, consider the 'modern period' to have begun in the mid-1800s and to have lasted until the 1960s. They describe 'modernism' as a

changing set of social, economic and political circumstances ... that is, a movement or at least a loose confederation, or a set of ideas and beliefs about the modern period. It was, broadly speaking, the cultural outcome of *modernity* [original emphasis], the social experience of living in the modern world (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 15).

Before the 1960s, the term 'modernism' was used to describe 'works of art that seem "contemporary"'. After the publication of Greenberg's essay, entitled *Modernist Painting*, in 1961, 'Modernism' with a capital M was used to denote 'a particular set of views'. The concept of 'Modernism' was based on the idea of constant change, occurring in the name of 'progress', and on maintaining a consistent difference between itself and the past in order to keep itself always in the present. The changes included a change 'in the interests and values upon which the most influential forms of criticism and interpretation of art were based': that is, a change in ideas about and experiences of art (Harrison, 1983/1984: 56).

Modernist idea of formalism

The focus on line, colour and mass as part of the formalist idea of modern art was proposed by Bell, Fry and Greenberg, followers of Kantian theory, around 1914. The concept of formalism carries two meanings. On the one hand it means a 'distinction between form and content', which is limited to 'merely' the aesthetic 'organizing principle within a work'. On the other hand, formalism is associated with social content and ideological tendency. It is perceived negatively, as if equivalent to ideas of 'art for art's sake' (Williams, 1976/1981: 114), by Marxist and social historians of art. The use of the term 'formalism' connotes the 'extension from the specific form to wider forms, and to forms of consciousness and relationship' (*ibid.*: 115).

In support of the theory of 'imaginative truth', the art critic, Fry, denied the existence of aesthetic value in 'representations' because he thought that the demand for 'skills' in the production of representation did not meet the 'disinterest' requirement of art. He applauded post-impressionists such as Cézanne, Gauguin and van Gogh for their contribution to using 'the principles of structural design and harmony' in building up a basis for 'purely aesthetic criteria' (Fry, 1981 [first published in 1920]: 8), such as the elements of line, plane, colour and so on (*ibid.*: 21-24). Fry believed that art should be generated from the imagination and that it should focus on expressing emotions in 'purity and freedom' (*ibid.*: 13-21) without any consideration of possible response. Hence art should be 'separated from actual life' and should have no 'moral responsibility' (*ibid.*: 13, 15, 21). To Fry, an artist should strive to merge 'emotional elements' with 'imaginative life' in order to 'arouse aesthetic feeling' for the purpose of personal enjoyment (*ibid.*: 26). The concern is with expressing oneself, rather than with pleasing others, gaining commercial value, or producing meanings.

Following the same line of thought, Fry's colleague, Bell, (1996 [first published in 1914]: 108), proposed the concept of 'significant form', which is 'common to all works of visual art'. To him, form, lines and colours combined in a particular way. Certain forms and relations of forms which stir our aesthetic emotions are called 'significant forms'. 'By this he meant that art works of quality can be identified through their formal qualities, which alone act as the marker of their significance' (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 27). Meecham and Sheldon argue that 'formalism privileges the aesthetic response', which relies on sight alone, disregarding any subject matter and the social context (*ibid.*: 27). Hence artists only need to focus on the artistic effects and make appropriate experiments. What they express they believe to be self-expressions and sensations evoked by outside stimuli. The most outward form of expression is an abstract style of artwork. This form of 'aesthetic experience' is considered to be

‘objective’ because it is believed that the work itself is an ‘autonomous’ object which can be ‘understood’ similarly by all its advocates (*ibid.*: 124). This applies to all artefacts across all cultures and periods. Harrison (1983/1984: 24-25), however, queries why the language of art established by the modernists is seen as ‘universal’ and its quality or value unquestionable.

From another perspective, Thomas McEvelley (1996) rejects the identification of art in terms of ‘significant or expressive form’ because ‘expressive forms’ may include love-making, which is not art (*ibid.*: 160). He agrees with Arthur Danto’s definition of art: art involves ‘expressive intent’, which is designed to embody ‘a thought, to have a content and to express a meaning’ (*ibid.*: 161). In addition, he proposes that art should ‘involve a thought, an idea or a concept’, that it should be ‘made by being designated as art by the art system’, (*ibid.*: 162) and that it should be honoured.

Modernist concept of rationality in art

Fry (1920/1981: 55) also attempted to equate art with science in order to justify the status of art. He attempted to draw analogies between art and science by comparing the concepts of ‘the particularizing and the generalizing’ in both disciplines. In explaining his concept concerning the particularity of art, Fry (*ibid.*: 55-59) identified the process of organising forms as an intellectual activity. He considered forms to be ‘a given and unalterable fact’. In the selection and manipulation of these forms, artists are required to exercise their ‘aesthetic value’ and ‘curiosity value’ in order to achieve a sense of perfection and unity in their artworks. Fry described intellectual curiosity as an objective element which exists outside the sphere of aesthetics. It helps an artist to achieve pure and perfect work. The generalising quality of art can be explained by the way artists organise the relationships between elements to achieve harmony and unity. This technique is considered to be comparable to the mathematicians’ method of

deducing the relations between all the parts of a whole. For Fry, 'the process of art' was 'a logic of sensation' and therefore was comparable to scientific theory. Both involve a desire for 'mental pleasure' in their achievements and both require 'great imaginative organisations' and the elements of emotion and unity in their process of work. Art is produced from emotion and culminates in a state of unity, while science proceeds from unity to emotional satisfaction through 'pure mechanical reasoning'.

Modernist concept of disinterestedness in art

Fry (1920/1981: 22) further developed the concepts of sensation and disinterestedness in Kant's aesthetic theory. He identified two concepts of beauty. One refers to the charm an object possesses that attracts our senses. It belongs to the 'perceptual aspect of the imaginative life'. The other refers to the satisfaction of 'the needs of the imaginative life', which is determined by our emotional response to an object, which Fry called 'supersensual'. Fry constantly emphasised the imaginative quality of art. This idea may be related to Kant's subjective 'aesthetic judgement' of 'pleasure', which operates through sensations in the process of imagination (Kant, 1920/1981: 80). Fry (1920/1981: 16-17) extended Kant's theory of 'pleasure derived from art' from purely 'sensual pleasures' to a correlation with other human instincts and other desires. He claimed that 'the imaginative life' can develop innate human capacities in a freer and fuller sense.

The modernists attempted to establish universal values in aesthetics. Three interrelated concepts of art were proposed: authenticity, autonomy and originality.

Modernist concept of authenticity

The concept of authenticity in art refers to the truth inherent in the subject of an artwork. Fry (1920/1981: 15) pointed out the need to be true to one's own feelings and

the necessity for freedom of thought in art. In contrast to Baumgarten's opinion, mentioned above, he rejected the need to 'copy from nature'. To be true to ourselves, Fry argued, we should draw from our 'mental images', as Cézanne did. Fry maintained that children normally possess this intuitive power to express themselves. He conceives that judgement is also required to identify authenticity in art. Frascina and Harris (1992: 171-172) argue that 'the criteria of authenticity and absolute values' of modern art are often based on 'individual creation and transcendence', and on a distinction between the West and the 'primitive', non-Western 'other'. Thus, objectivity when determining the authenticity of an artwork is in question. Meecham and Sheldon (2005: 239) opined that modernism 'privileges the notion of the artist as a conveyor of personal "truths"'.

Modernist concept of autonomy

Kant's (1899/1960) notion of the maturity and autonomy of an individual, the progress of an individual towards moral and political responsibility, was generally accepted among modernists. The concept of 'autonomy' emerged in response to the invention of photography and the effect of the commercial world, which resulted in a concern about a loss of innovation in artistic production (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 37). As suggested by Meecham and Sheldon, artistic 'autonomy' is a term which connotes 'freedom from cultural, political and social structures and strictures'. It is related to the aesthetic ideas proposed by the modernists, especially by the American critic, Greenberg, in association with the idea of 'art for art's sake' (*ibid.*: 271).

Greenberg's idea of 'art for art's sake' was refined from the theories of Fry, Bell and Kant. It emphasised expression rather than content or subject matter. The ultimate aim of art was 'abstract' or 'non-objective' art. He believed that an artwork should be 'original and inventive' and hence should not be determined by commissions,

because 'the medium [was] privately, professionally, the content of [the artist's] art' (Greenberg, 1961: 16-17). These ideas were bound up with notions of avant-garde culture. Greenberg regarded avant-garde culture as a 'revolution' (*ibid.*: 5) which advances over historical achievement and is superior to what went before. The best avant-garde artists are better than all other artists. The experiments conducted by members of the avant-garde are designed to 'keep culture moving in the midst of ideological confusion and violence'. Similarly, Fry (1920/1981) believed that only artists possess 'curiosity vision' and 'creative vision', that is, the ability to look and work differently (*ibid.*: 34-35); conversely, 'aesthetic sensibility' in most people is weak, hence art is not for 'ordinary' people (*ibid.*: 10). Promoted by the modernists, the avant-garde culture formed 'the only living culture' of Greenberg's age (*ibid.*: 7-8). In my opinion, the claim of the superiority of avant-garde culture over that of the ordinary people is a means to protect the interests of a particular group of people and to legitimate their right of domination over other groups. Greenberg's ideas about the avant-garde are merely strategies to establish the social power of its members.

Critics of the modernists' concept of autonomy in art, for example, Peter Burger (1992/2003: 58-59), argue that the characteristic of the autonomy of avant-garde art lies in 'the separation of art from the praxis of life'. 'Autonomy' defined in this sense does not relate to 'the contents of works'. As a result, 'art becomes the content of art'. The integration of art into 'the praxis of life' makes it difficult to identify the intended purpose of art. Freedom is achieved by keeping the issues of humanity apart from daily life experiences. In this situation, art makes no commitment to society, and has therefore lost its capacity to criticise social life. On the other hand, the emphasis of autonomy is on the work produced by the 'artistic genius' rather than on the artistic expression. Burger argues that proponents of the avant-garde movement negate the category of individual production. He puts forward the example of Marcel Duchamp,

who signed 'R. Mutt' on a mass-produced object, the urinal, in order 'to mark what is individual in the work'. If someone did this today, however, the act would not be considered authentic because it would not be provoking new thought about art. In theory, the 'liberating life' of the 'isolated subject' presented as art is related to the response of the recipients of the work of art. Anthony Giddens observes that in the late modern period people suffered from the problem of 'personal meaninglessness'. In the condition of modernity, an individual experiences 'existential isolation', which means that he or she is

separated from the moral resources necessary to live a full and satisfying existence... "Authenticity" becomes both a pre-eminent value and a framework for self-actualization, but represents a morally stunted process (Giddens, 1991/1995: 9).

Alternatively, Harrison (1983/1984: 22) proposes four different forms of autonomy claimed for art: namely, 'autonomy of production'; 'technical autonomy'; 'autonomy of identity'; and 'autonomy of aesthetic experience'. Autonomy of production refers to all artistic factors, such as 'the creative personality of the artist', 'his or her aesthetic experience', the 'influence of other works of art' and so on. Technical autonomy refers to the 'internal problems of resolution' in art. Autonomy of identity refers to the identification of a work of art 'as an internally structured and coherent thing or "experience" in itself: that is, the "imaginative effects"' without any 'figurative resemblance or reference to other things'. Autonomy of aesthetic experience refers to 'the authentic experience of works of art'. This specific experience is 'unmixed with others, uncaused and unaffected by interests, desires or needs', and is 'to be valued entirely for its own sake' because it is 'good in itself'.

Scholars such as Jonathan Harris (1993: 57) reject the idea that modernist abstract art is 'autonomous' and free from 'political life'. Harris believes that the impression of a 'free America' created by abstract expressionist painting in 1949 was actually

designed as propaganda against the threat of the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Modernist concept of originality

The concept of the originality of modern art relied on the difference between those works and previous practices. This led to modern artists' attempts to find 'ways of not repeating' themselves and to their insistence on 'first person utterance'. They were concerned with expression rather than contextual factors (Harrison & Wood, 1993: 237). The use of commercial products by Pop artists in the modern period therefore raised concerns about the notion of originality in art. Pop art heralded the advent of postmodernism. According to Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux (1991: 62), postmodernism refers to 'an intellectual position, a form of cultural criticism, as well as to an emerging set of social, cultural, and economic conditions that have come to characterize the age of global capitalism and industrialism'. There are many different theories involved in the concept of postmodernism. The 'grounds of difference, the myth of originality and historical narratives' (Harrison & Wood, 1993: 238) remain major postmodern themes. The sense of 'originality' has shifted from a focus on aesthetics to a focus on the originality of ideas. Works (such as those produced by the postmodern artists, Jeff Koons and Haim Steinback which involved no transformation of the collected objects, but consisted simply of an organised display of those objects, became accepted as works of art.

Modernist concept of taste

Another important trope in modern art theory is 'taste'. According to Williams (1976/1981: 264), the term 'taste' implies 'discrimination' because it involves people's ability to distinguish 'the good, bad or indifferent although in its early meaning in the eighteenth century, "taste" is regarded as "a general quality"'. To Rousseau (1762/1958: 123), taste is 'the faculty of judging what pleases or displeases the greatest

people'. This is a natural ability in man, but higher intellectual ability is only possessed by a limited number of people with 'native sensibility'. Taste is related to amusements, but not to our daily necessities, hence it should be 'indifferent to us'. It depends on local social factors, such as 'region, custom, government, institutions'; and on personal factors, such as 'age, sex and character'. It is maintained through comparisons, perhaps against bad taste, in order to attain perfection, and it should be distinguished from 'interest in practical affairs' and popularity. I think this is related to the modernist's orthodox emphasis on 'disinterestedness' in art: that is, art is produced without involving any personal interests, desires or needs, as mentioned above.

The concept of 'taste' advocated by modernists such as Fry, Bell and Greenberg assumes the existence of 'beauty' in an art object and also assumes that viewers possess the 'taste' or ability to appreciate this beauty (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 6). Greenberg saw 'formal culture' as being associated with 'leisure and comfort', and as part of 'cultivation' and 'refined tastes'. This concept of taste is of a kind of human value which enables one to distinguish between good and bad art (*ibid.*: 13). Greenberg regarded the majority, who are unable to appreciate the 'great art values' of art such as Picasso's, as ignorant: in Bell's terms, lacking sensitivity. This is in conformity with the opinion of Fry discussed above. Greenberg (1961: 14-15) maintained that the 'ignorant peasant' usually looks for identifiable icons, while 'cultivated spectators' are capable of 'reflective enjoyment', and therefore the latter are sufficiently sensitive to reflect upon the immediate impression, from which the ultimate values can be derived. Taste is thus no longer perceived as something possessed by people in general, but as something possessed only by members of the avant-garde. The 'taste' of people in general resides in the 'collective idea of taste', as observed by Thierry de Duve (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 22). Williams (1921-1988) (1983) observed that at the time in which he lived, there was a growing dissatisfaction with the

‘taste’ of the ‘public’. The public was described as the ‘simple-minded foolish crowd’, while artists were called ‘intellectuals’, who became ‘the guiding light of the common life’. Art as a specialised form of production had replaced the art which was dependent on the ‘laws of the market’. Culture was regarded as the ‘embodied spirit of a people’ and the ‘true standard of excellence’ (*ibid.*: 34-36). Williams noticed a contradiction in these social functions of art: the ‘taste’ of the public for popular commodities was considered ‘bad’, but ‘when art is a commodity, taste is adequate’ (*ibid.*: 41).

The modernist’s idea of ‘universal taste’ is criticised by McEvelley. McEvelley (1996: 17-22) argues that ‘tastes’ depend on time, cultures (which coexist in time), conditions (such as education, class background), and personal factors (such as gender and age), rather than developing according to some idea of linear ‘progress’, as suggested by the modernists. Besides, there are no objective criteria for judging the quality of taste. Even with populations possessing similar characteristics there is no guarantee that their ‘tastes’ will be the same. He rejects the modernists’ claim that all ideas are wrong except their own. He regards this claim as a ‘characteristic of the colonialist era’. During this period, members of the controlling group posited their own criteria as ‘eternal and universal’ to their own advantage. After years of development, the contemporary use of the term ‘taste’ is associated with the idea of the consumer exercising his/her ‘taste’ (Williams, 1976/1981: 266).

The relationship between artistic values and power relations, as well as cultural contexts

Contextual factors are highly influential over peoples’ values concerning art. Religious concepts, for example, are one of these factors, as Tolstoy (1898/1959) maintained. The messages derived from a work of art can either be religious or they

can be feelings related to ordinary life. Tolstoy observed that during the era of the Romans and during the Renaissance, the 'aesthetic theory' was 'framed to suit the view of life of the ruling class' in rewarding and directing art (*ibid.*: 108, 135). He regarded the theory of art for art's sake as a means of justifying the advantages of the upper class.

The same line of thought is demonstrated by Fred Inglis (1993/1995), who agrees that art is used by the ruling class as a means of legitimising class oppression. He maintains that the way scholars such as Kant, Burke and Schiller framed 'aesthetics' according to the system of reason during the Enlightenment was an attempt to justify their privileged position in society. This system created a group of experts, including art historians, curators, dealers, collectors, critics and teachers, and also established special training programmes, exclusive curricula and social membership, in order to maintain a hierarchy of work within the art field.

In stark contrast to Tolstoy's idea, McEvilley (1996: 164, 167) suggests that we must free ourselves from perceiving the object of a work of art in the 'matrix of religion and rite', and see it from the point of view of its 'formal qualities' and 'social implications'. He notices that our experience of an object changes according to its context, and that an absolute, essential definition of art is impossible, since definitions require linguistic expression, but the usage of language changes over time.

Williams (1981a/1986: 120, 126) argued that the term 'works of art' is a 'socio-cultural category', and that in our attempt to distinguish art from other practices, we must consider the 'presumption of the privileged classes' as an essential element reflecting 'the social process of conscious human production'. The modernist notion of art as expressed by Weitz is that 'art is a concept that operates within a culture where it finds both meaning and distinction' (Elliot, 1996: 48). How art is defined changes within different cultures. Under this rubric, the shift in the definition of art from practical skills to abstract imagination and to the intention of the artists, as identified by

Williams above, can be explained by a change in the cultural conditions of different societies at different periods. Weitz's concept of art reminds us of the general importance of the contextual factors that affect the production of art.

Art and culture as systems of significant symbols

The relationship between art and culture is reflected in Geertz's definition of art. For him, art is one of the 'symbolic dimensions of social action', comparable to 'religion, ideology, science, law, morality and common sense' (Geertz, 1973: 30), and similar to other systems, such as language, myth and ritual. Man has relied on the systems of significant symbols for his development. In the process of creation, a person has to master symbols, organise 'social life' or express 'emotions', and before making any decisions, he or she needs to be aware of his or her feelings about things. 'Art, myth and ritual' are systems of significant symbols that provide 'the public image of sentiment' to guide people's decisions (*ibid.*: 82) and create a new environment for them to adapt to. Certain individuals should be able to take advantage of developments in culture. In art, individuals take advantage of the 'reduplication of the achievement of accepted masters' to 'rationalize social privilege through "academicism"' (*ibid.*: 88). Geertz argues that we have to be open to problems that cannot be clarified in order to make discovery possible. The technique of examining art and culture from the point of view of their symbolic meanings is now widely used, and will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Art as related to civilisation and criticisms of this concept

In perceiving art as civilisation, both Fry and Bell rejected the idea that 'negro' sculpture (the term used by Fry) or 'primitive art' (the term used by Bell) belonged to a civilised culture. In Fry's opinion, the 'negro' did not possess 'the power of conscious

critical appreciation and comparison' and there was a need for 'outside influence' to have 'mercy' on him (Fry, 1920/1981: 73) (This could be seen as a method of self-justification on the part of the coloniser). Although Bell (1914/1996: 109) appreciates the forms produced by 'the primitives', he maintains that they 'bring nothing from life, no knowledge of its ideas and affairs, no familiarity with its emotions', in contrast with the civilised modernist. I think, in this context, their criteria of art appreciation have shifted to a focus on 'ignorance' rather than taking into account the aesthetic quality of the work which is normally emphasised in aesthetic theories. For Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) (1949/1976: 16-17), this way of perceiving 'negroes' as 'inferior' is comparable to the situations of aborigines being called 'natives' by American racists; proletarians being seen as the 'lower class' by the privileged; and woman as being perceived as the 'imperfect man' by early Christians such as St. Thomas. It reflects Otherness: in other words, for example, women are what men are not. This implies that the terms 'negro's art' and 'primitive art' used by Fry and Bell symbolise their Othering approach towards art produced by other cultures.

The idea that 'aesthetic, moral and social judgements' are interrelated was promoted by many intellectuals in the nineteenth century, such as Pugin, Ruskin and Morris (Williams, 1983: 130). Pugin suggested using the art of a period 'to judge the quality of the society that was producing it'. However, he was criticised by Morris for his prejudice against working-class culture (*ibid.*: 131-133).

Morris initiates arguments against the concept of culture as 'civilisation', especially 'modern civilisation'. He maintains that art and culture are 'the true ideal of a full and reasonable life' (Williams, 1983: 150), but insists on the right to existence of alternative values. He regards art as 'the pleasure of life', which should be available 'to our daily labour', and says that 'the arts defined a quality of living' (*ibid.*: 157).

Regarding who can enjoy art, Tolstoy (1898/1959: 177, 179) opined that 'great

works of art are only great because they are accessible to every one', otherwise it is 'a false development and false learning'. Tolstoy (*ibid.*: 145-148) rejected the notion that art is restricted to the rich classes and is 'intelligible' only to a limited 'elect' few because it is contrary to the idea of 'perfection' in religious terms, according to which all people have equal rights to the 'highest spiritual enjoyment'. The idea of restricting culture to the few 'cultivated' members of a society is also rejected by Williams. He argues that highly educated people tend to be selective in their reading matter. The result is that they neglect many of the most popular activities as evidence of quality of life. They fail to take into account a whole range of general skills which are outside the scope of their understanding. Williams (1983: 308) calls this the 'observers' limits', which amount to a 'virtual exclusion of the majority' (*ibid.*: 322). According to Williams (1985: 89), Herder was the first scholar to attack the assumptions of the universal histories about 'civilisation' or 'culture', 'leading to the high and dominant' European culture. Herder proposed a plural approach to dealing with culture, which includes 'the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation'.

Williams (1989a: 3-5) insists that 'culture is ordinary'. He explains that culture exists all around us. Every society has its own shape and meanings and is in a continual state of growth. Everybody learns through observation and communication about meanings in a society and tries to test and create new meanings. This process of learning is common to every people and the culture around them will change as a consequence. It is the 'common meanings' of culture which indicate 'a whole way of life'. To Williams, a 'common culture' points to an 'equality of being'. Under these conditions, there should be equal opportunities for people to participate in activities and to have access to existing products, and they should have mutual respect and openness to learning other values. All values, including those belonging to the dominant class,

its counterparts, and other neutral bodies, can shape a culture. We must be aware that the power struggle in the development of traditions is controlled by the dominant class through processes of selection. We should aim to accept 'alternative ideas of the nature of social relationship' and to allow 'difference and unevenness in selection'. We should 'attend to our environment as a whole, draw our values from the whole' and let any culture grow naturally. Guided by the 'fundamental principle of equality of being', and accepting the 'actual variations of life and growth', all selections should be freely and commonly made. This is what Williams means by 'a whole way of life'. Moreover, Williams (1983: 313-337) also considers that 'arts and learning' are parts of the 'national inheritance' which should hence be available to everyone. I think this view of the inclusive nature of culture as 'a whole way of life' has given rise to many new perspectives on art and culture.

The power struggle involved in the definition of culture as civilisation is also observed by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1993/1995: 236-237) regards the 'essentialist representation of the bipartition of society into barbarians and civilised people' as a means of maintaining social order. Through legitimising the dominance of a particular culture, the social conditions established by the privileged class of a society can thus be justified. He maintains that the scholarly culture establishes particular codes of work. The conditions for a receiver to decipher the meaning of a work of art/cultural objects depend on his/her ability to perceive the cultural code of the work, that is, his/her 'cultivated ability'. Bourdieu observes four practical methods for enhancing this hierarchy of work in society. First, a deciphering grid is established among works of art. The comprehension of the higher-level significations of these works in terms of specific themes or concepts is limited to the educated few. Second, the uninitiated perception of naive beholders can only cover the factual and expressional meanings of the work. This is regarded as an inferior form of aesthetic experience because the code

used is neither adequate nor specific. Third, the scholarly culture adopts some 'schemes of interpretation'. It takes into consideration certain extrinsic categories and values that guide people's perception and practical judgement. Fourth, the appropriation of works of art is allowed according to systems of classification in art competence, and controlled by social institutions.

Bourdieu (1993/1995: 230) also argues that in the education sector, schools and other social institutions use various methods to impose their own sets of values on a work of art. The appropriation of works of art is one of the means of influencing students' perceptions of culture. He describes how educated people behave like 'priests of culture', ignoring the novelty of new art through their own perception supported by selected traditions from the past. The theories of de Beauvoir and Bourdieu mentioned above indicate the impact of power issues on art and culture. This leads us into the following study of the relationship of art and culture to the issues of post-colonialism, identities and otherness.

II. THE RELATIONSHIP OF ART AND CULTURE TO POST-COLONIALISM, IDENTITIES AND OTHERNESS

Culture and art as methods of defining identity

In addition to the idea of the involvement of the power relationships of colonialism and Otherness in determining people's values with regard to art, mentioned above, Ania Loomba (1998/2005) believes that the process of both imperialism and colonialism 'leads to domination and control' (*ibid.*: 6-7). She defines colonialism 'as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods' (*ibid.*: 2), and neo-colonialism as 'the economic (and social) relations of dependency and control' without 'direct colonial rule' (*ibid.*: 5-6). She identifies imperialism as something which 'can function without formal colonies', but says that 'colonialism cannot'. She claims that 'post-colonial'

and 'neo-colonial' states can coexist in a country because 'the new global order does not depend upon direct rule' (*ibid.*: 6-7). '[A] version of [colonialism] can be duplicated from within' (*ibid.*: 12). Anti-colonial movements may not arise (*ibid.*: 11) because anti-colonial positions depend on the nature of colonial rule, 'so that nationalist struggles [in different countries are different]' (*ibid.*: 15). Gramsci's idea of hegemony, which combines 'force and consent', has widely influenced the contemporary concept of colonialism. Gramsci (1971) insists that the ruling class is able to 'make force appear to be based on the consent of the majority' through educating its people by means of newspapers and associations (*ibid.*: 80, 259). The masses are likely to modify 'their own habits, their own will and their own conviction' (*ibid.*: 266) accordingly. Thus, he states, 'hegemony presupposes certain collaboration' (*ibid.*: 271).

In discussing the relationship between coloniser and colonised, Fanon (1963/1983) regards the 'brains of the colonised' as having been emptied by the colonizers (*ibid.*: 169) through the construction of an 'unidentifiable' and 'unassimilable' self (Fanon 1952/1968: 114), because their self-identification is based on the colonisers as reference. Fanon (1963/1983: 198) believes that the colonised man will disappear with the disappearance of colonialism. However, there appears to be a basic flaw in the logic of Fanon's argument. Since the 'brains' of the colonised are occupied with thoughts from the colonisers which have been developed and firmly fixed, the mere departure of the coloniser could not possibly 'empty' these brains.

Taking into consideration Jorge de Alva's theory, Loomba (1998/2005: 12-19) rejects the 'linear progression' model of post-colonialism. She argues that multiple conflicts and parallel narratives exist in the once-colonised countries. In addition to nationalist groups, there are also feminist and other marginalised groups available to join in the struggles. Hence, the focus of post-colonialism has shifted from 'the

locations and institutions to individuals and their subjectivities'. Post-coloniality is in fact a condition rather than a specific locality. 'A single understanding of decolonisation' cannot explain the many different meanings expressed by the term 'decolonisation'.

In studying the colonisation of the East by Western countries, Edward Said proposes the idea of Orientalism, based on the theory of the post-structuralist, Michel Foucault. Foucault (1972/1980) argues that there is a 'genealogy of relation of force, strategic development, and tactics' in terms of power and knowledge, not related to 'meaning' (*ibid.*: 114), but which instead is always associated with 'resistances' (*ibid.*: 142). This relationship is in 'productive networks'. It may lead to positive feelings (for example, pleasure) as well as to negative feelings (such as repression) (*ibid.*: 119). 'These power networks stand in a conditioning-conditioned relationship' and hence are carried on everywhere (*ibid.*: 122). Their relations are interwoven with other relations, such as 'production, kinship, family, sexuality' (*ibid.*: 142). (These themes have been drawn into my research study). However, Foucault has been criticised for paying no attention to colonialism in his power/knowledge system (Loomba, 1998/2005: 52). For Said (1991 [first published in 1978]), Orientalism is 'a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and ... (most of the time) "the Occident"... for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (*ibid.*: 137). Said believes that the Orient is made Oriental under the power of domination. He borrows Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony to explain how the idea of 'European superiority over Oriental backwardness' in Orientalism could be sustained (*ibid.*: 140). The effect of Orientalism on 'aesthetic, scholarly... and philological texts' goes beyond mere geographical distinction. The uneven exchange of various kinds of power has extended from political (for example, colonial) to intellectual (for example, science and development), cultural (taste and values) and

moral matters (permissible actions) (*ibid.*: 144, 333). However, Said's stance is criticised for fixing an East - West dichotomy, for 'homogenizing the West' through literary texts, without giving any account of capitalism, and for focusing on colonial power but paying no attention to negotiation or change (Loomba, 1998/2005: 49).

The place of values in the determination of identities

The theories of colonialism and post-colonialism involve power relations. This is in line with the thoughts concerning art and culture of Williams, Geertz, Davis and Bourdieu previously mentioned in this chapter. Geertz (1973: 88) considers art as a means for people to rationalise their social privilege; Davis mentions the practice of people's exercising their power in granting an object art status (Elliot, 1996: 45-46); and Bourdieu (1993/1995: 236-237) identifies a hierarchy of work operating under systems of classification controlled by social institutions. Power relations are always involved in art and culture. They also arise between classes, genders and races. Power is embedded in ideology. Amongst all the influential factors, value is the most important (Inglis, 1993/1995: 186). Inglis thinks that values are usually associated with meanings. The meaning given to an object determines its value. The status of an artwork is materialised in its economic value. Nick Couldry (2000) claims that cultural studies are often based on particular values. Hence, we should always acknowledge these underlying values. To McEvilley (1996: 22), the value system of a society is an 'ideological tool' monitored by the advantaged group in the society. He believes that our value judgements determine our identity: during the process of making a value judgement, we can 'expand our selfhood' through 'self-realization, self-recognition, and self-definition' (*ibid.*: 24). When a viewer comes across an art object, he/she reacts to the identity it projects, whether in affirmation or resistance. It 'reinforces or threatens his sense of identity and life-meaning' (*ibid.*: 57-59). In this

way the artwork contains selfhood and is associated with ‘a system of definitions, implications and proposals’.

The art object also implies a definition of history and an idea of quality. McEvelley (1996) maintains that art can shape and sustain a sense of identity. He considers art as ‘an instrument of persuasion’, which is generated and received in communal contexts ‘that invite[s] a bonding of communal identification around a shared understanding of [the artworks’] meaning’ (*ibid.*: 102). McEvelley criticises the modernists’ claim of representing the world by a ‘universal self’ based on Western culture. He emphasises the importance of the relativisation of cultures, and rejects the monopolisation of civilisation by any absolute approach. The function of art is to ‘question and critique the culture that produces it’ by disclosing its weaknesses, rather than merely creating ‘pleasing aesthetic forms’ (*ibid.*: 11-12). He sees judgements of quality as subjective and related to many conditions, such as cognitive, social and geographical. The exercise of value judgements serves to bond groups and at the same time excludes others. McEvelley reminds us that we should be self-conscious about our value judgements by relativising them, in order ‘to see them as arising from certain circumstances, and to see that other circumstances would give rise to different ones’ (*ibid.*: 23).

Concepts of identities

In addition to McEvelley’s concept of the relationship between art and identity mentioned above, George Mead (1967: 1, 134) perceives an individual’s sense of his identity or ‘self’ as being constructed through interactions with the Other. The individual is able to adjust the ‘self’ according to the attitude of the Other in any particular social context. Mead opines that the ‘I’ responds to the ‘Other’, while the ‘me’ reflects an ‘organized set of attitudes’ towards Others (*ibid.*: 175). The essential

condition for the development of mind is the 'reflexiveness' of individuals. The status of an individual in a community is determined by the 'me' and hence generates an emotional response to the Other. Communities exert control by guiding individuals' perceptions of the attitude of the 'generalized other'. These individuals will then control their own conduct according to this guidance. This is how the experience of Others works in shaping the self. Since every individual has a variety of experiences in different contexts, Mead considers that there is a 'complete self' which is made up of various 'elementary selves'. He explains that 'the unity and structure of the complete self reflects the unity and structure of the social process as a whole' (*ibid.*: 144). The adaptation of artists' attitudes towards searching for ways to break new ground according to the modernists' demand for the unconventional is evidence of this.

However, Giddens (1991/1995) rejects the idea that a person's identity is related to that person's own behaviour or to the reactions of others. He argues that a sense of security and trust towards Others is crucial in shaping the social life of individuals. He insists that it is the 'capacity to keep a particular narrative going', related to the individual's biography, that matters (*ibid.*: 54). This opinion is consistent with Said's notion of power in relation to narratives in a society, as mentioned above.

Similarly, Stuart Hall also rejects the 'complete self' theory of Mead. Neither does he accept the essentialist idea of identity with 'a collective or true self', nor the concept that 'people have a shared history and an ancestry held in common' (Hall & du Gay, 1996: 4). Hall identifies three concepts of identity: the Enlightenment subject, the sociological subject and the postmodern subject. The Enlightenment subject regards a human being as 'a fully centred, unified individual', who has an 'identical' personal identity throughout his/her life. The human subject is regarded as a 'natural development of the human brain'. On the other hand, the sociological subject is 'formed in relation to "significant others"' and the identity of the self is 'interactive'

with the culture in which the self lives. Identity bridges the gap between the ‘inside’ self and the ‘outside’ world to form a cultural identity. The subject ‘self’ is always ‘shifting’, ‘fragmented’ and composed of several identities. Cultural identity in this sense is ‘open-ended, variable and problematic.’ Lastly, the postmodern subject, which is ‘historically’ defined, is an example of this type of cultural identity (Hall, Held & McGrew, 1992: 275-285).

In Hall’s opinion, identification is a process that operates across differences and there is a need to seek commonalities among individuals or groups in association with an ideal (Hall & du Gay, 1996: 2-3) and the play of power. Identity is a ‘production’, formed through narratives of the self in relation to the Other (*ibid.*: 4). I consider this idea to be crucial in determining the power relationship between the self and the Other. Strategies used depend on the context and the position of an individual relative to the Other. Hence, the symbolic boundaries of identity constantly shift according to particular places and times (Hall, 1990: 222, 230). The politics of identities is in fact the politics of positions, and the points of identification are unstable (*ibid.*: 226). In this sense, Hall considers that identities are ‘never unified’, that they are ‘fragmented’, ‘constructed across different practices and positions’ and ‘constantly in the process of change and transformation’, something which is facilitated by globalisation (Hall & du Gay, 1996: 4). The design of this research is based on these assumptions of Hall’s.

The issue of Othering in cultural studies

I agree with McEvelley’s idea that the ‘self’ and the ‘Other’ are a ‘mutually dependent, eternally interlinked pair’, hence I designed the questionnaires by asking participants to respond in pairs. McEvelley (1996: 147) believes that both the self and the Other require the existence of the Other to locate themselves as different entities. However, the Other is always projected as ‘unknown’ and in a ‘negative’ sense,

therefore the fear of the Other causes the creation of 'Otherness'. In the colonial situation, Loomba (1998/2005: 52) (borrowing Foucault's concept) believes that 'every colonial person' is considered as 'already "Other"', and as one of those who are 'denied' in the power struggle. McEvelley (1996) claims that there is no unified idea of quality, mainstream, art history, or clarified hierarchy. We should allow openness towards differences, honour the presence of the Other and accept the idea of the self as 'relative, multi-faceted, and shifting' (*ibid.*: 69). 'The search for the Other is a search for the newness of one's changing self' (*ibid.*: 104).

There are both advantages and disadvantages in according prominence to the Other. One advantage may be that it reveals the problems from which the Other is suffering. However, Sardar (1998) warns that it may also lead to further marginalisation of the Other from non-Western worlds, because the voices of the Others are silenced while colonisers attempt to represent them by means of postmodern theories. According to Sardar,

Colonialism was about the physical occupation of non-western cultures. Modernity was about displacing the present and occupying the minds of non-western cultures. Postmodernism is about appropriating the history and identity of non-western cultures as an integral facet of itself, colonizing their future and occupying their being (Sardar, 1998: 13).

In post-colonial Hong Kong, few people are aware of their adherence to colonial points of view. The internalisation of colonial values has led them towards blind acceptance of Western trends and development. Currently almost every discipline in Hong Kong is looking for ways to incorporate postmodernity. It seems that the adoption of postmodernism is related to the issue of survival in the contemporary world. Hence, postmodernism, which emerged from the West, is becoming another power which appears to be dominating the whole world. The possibility of developing a unique, local way of practice for the non-Western world seems remote. However,

resistance to global and Chinese national influence may be seen in the growing interest in local artefacts in Hong Kong. In the late 1990s the promotion of the graffiti of Tsang Cho Choi as an art form (mentioned in Questionnaire 2) by an art critic in Hong Kong transformed the local art scene. Some fashion designers, graphic designers and sculptors incorporated Tsang's graffiti in their work as a symbol of the local identity. The Hong Kong G. O. D. Company also inserts local scenes (for example, the tenement houses, resettlement estates and the iron letter boxes) into their designs which are popular locally and abroad. The feminist artwork of Man Ching Ying - 'A present for her growth I' (mentioned in Questionnaire 5 and discussed in Chapter 8) - was exhibited in many countries around the world in a traveling exhibition in the late 1990s. Hence, these local elements and gender art have become globalised. Globalisation thus has a dual effect: it both promotes and destroys local culture.

The above phenomenon could be explained using Bourdieu and Passeron's concept of production and reproduction in the education system. They argue that every institutionalised educational system maintains its 'proper' structure and functioning in order to 'produce and reproduce' the institutional conditions necessary to fulfil its functions. Simultaneously, this reproduction in turn reproduces 'the relations between the groups or classes', that is, social reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977: 54). From this perspective, it is understandable that Western-trained educators who occupy significant roles in developing educational policies find it difficult to shed Western influence because this will violate their legitimacy as experts in the field and endanger their social status. In this way, the social order can be controlled and the interests of the existing classes can be protected. Hence, Zygmunt Bauman proposes a postmodern ethics, as follows:

...a postmodern ethics would be one that readmits the Other as a neighbour, as the close-to-hand-and-mind, into the hard core of the moral self, back from the wasteland of



calculated interests to which it has been exiled; an ethics that recasts the Other as the crucial character in the process through which the moral self comes into its own (Bauman, 1993: 84).

Bauman attempts to reverse the adverse concept of the Other and make its connection with the self a constructive force in forming one's identity. However, Homi Bhabha reminds us that:

... we cannot and must not imagine that we know exactly where the opposition is or where the interrogation is coming from. If we do, then we're only shoring up a kind of authority. My way of looking at this edge or boundary of the construction of any pedagogical position is actually to construct its authority in a position of being challenged (Bhabha, 1992: 66).

It is easy to criticise Others and challenge their position. However, it is more important to exercise critical thinking when evaluating our daily experiences and encounters with Others. It is hoped that the pedagogy used in this research will lead to improvements in students' life experiences in the area of their understanding of Others and enable them to be critical of their own position.

III. CULTURAL ISSUES REFLECTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN ART EDUCATION

Since art education in Hong Kong was introduced by the British while Hong Kong was a British colony, in order to investigate the colonial influence on curriculum development in art education in Hong Kong, it is necessary to investigate the development of art education in the Western world.

The impact of Western art education on Hong Kong

The following account of art education development in the West is not comprehensive but is intended to provide an overview of Western influence on the development of art education in Hong Kong. This influence includes movements which arose in Britain and the United States: for instance, the child-centred approach,

the visual studies movement, the Critical Studies in Art Education project, Discipline-based Art Education and postmodern art education.

The child art movement

Between the seventh and nineteenth centuries, the focus of academic art was on the imitation of nature or on copying from artists (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996). Following the trend of modernism, the idea of progressive education emerged in the early twentieth century. Art was perceived as being ‘governed by common underlying principles’ (*ibid.*: 58) in a ‘formal order or significant form’ (*ibid.*: 68). During this period, art was marginalised in a society dominated by science and business concerns. With the help of art critics such as Fry, as well as the promotion of ‘child art as a discovery’ by Cizek and Richardson, a new art pedagogy, the ‘child-centred’ approach, was developed in the 1920s. This approach encourages ‘creative self-expression’ in a child and protection from the influence of others (*ibid.*: 60-62). According to modernist dogma, individual expression is ‘original and unique’ (*ibid.*: 68). Richardson promulgated the idea that ‘children were capable of producing original works of art’ (Holdsworth, 2005: 173) and she saw her own role as ‘central to her pupils’ progress and achievement’ (Swift, 1992: 127). These ideas were confirmed by Herbert Read in his *Education through Art*, published in 1943 (Taylor, 1992: 23). Read was regarded as ‘a profound explicator and defender of children’s creativity’ (Thistlewood, 2005: 177). His ideas were in line with the theory of the progressive education movement advocated by scholars such as John Dewey in America. In this theory it was believed that ‘teaching and learning should be based upon the natural development of the child and that education should be grounded in real experience...’ (Efland, 1990: 189). The subsequent self-expression movement of the 1920s held that a child was born with ‘special potentialities’ which are destroyed by ‘a standardized

society and mechanical methods of teaching' (*ibid.*: 192). The importance of self-expression was supported by Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker in *The Child-centred School* (1928) (*ibid.*: 193). The contribution of Cizek and Richardson to the development of child art was widely acknowledged. Richardson's influence on American art educators was extensive (*ibid.*: 200). Although Viktor Lowenfeld, a student of Cizek, rejected 'the aesthetic aspects of child art' proposed by Cizek, he insisted on the need to allow the child to grow up 'more creatively and sensitively and apply his experience in the arts to whatever life situations may be applicable' (Michael, 1982, cited in Efland 1990: 235).

The establishment of child art by Franz Cizek

After being introduced to educators in Hong Kong, Cizek's theory profoundly influenced art education from the late 1940s to the 1960s (Ng H. S., 2000: 25).

Macdonald (1970: 340) points out that Cizek lived at a time when society was influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement and Art Nouveau. There was a growing trend towards 'symbolic and anti-realistic and decorative art such as the work of Klimt'. The impact of modernist thought resulted in a tendency among artists to detach themselves from academic art. The interest of artists in child art is a result of this movement. Cizek (*ibid.*: 344) regarded the child as 'a creative self-active organism' and believes that education is 'growth and self-fulfilment'.

Cizek regarded 'inner experience' as essential to art, believing that '[a]ll copied things are worthless' (Viola, 1936: 37), and that therefore painters should not copy nature (*ibid.*: 29). He argued that a child is 'part of nature'. The child has 'his own thought', 'ideas' and 'personality' which deserve the right to be respected. He should be free of adult influence (*ibid.*: 10). The child is 'honest' in expressing 'his true self' (*ibid.*: 10) from 'his own desires and inclinations and dreams' (*ibid.*: 34) and 'skill can

be a hindrance to the creative in art' (*ibid.*: 37). Cizek considered that a child is born 'as a creator', full of imagination (*ibid.*: 38). Ideas of art are generated internally by the child, and are not derived from nature. Art must be creative (*ibid.*: 29). Cizek argues that a child thinks 'optically-logically', which is different from the 'comprehensively-logical' thinking of adults (*ibid.*: 36). Child art has its own 'eternal law of form' (*ibid.*: 12), which is natural, and has its own logic.

In line with the natural education theory of Rousseau, Cizek insists on the need 'to let children grow, flourish and mature according to their innate laws of development' (Viola, 1936: 13), and he rejects any form of compulsion. The basis of art instruction lies in 'the creative capacity of the child' (*ibid.*: 33). Cizek suggests providing an ample supply of a variety of selected media that are manageable by children: for example, lino, wood and paper, to accommodate the capabilities of different children, and in accordance with the children's own choices, providing guidance only by directing further explorations in other media rather than teaching any techniques. There should be no model to copy from. Generally, a positive learning environment is maintained. Apart from assigning learning tasks to stimulate thought, children are left free to choose their own topics and to form groups, without any discipline or authoritative control. There should be positive encouragement for original work and negative criticism for imitation. Children are allowed to talk about their own artworks and others are given the opportunity to criticise them. The classroom is full of displays of students' artwork and music is played to create a happy learning environment.

Marion Richardson's ideas on the teaching of child art

Richardson developed child art further. She devised a variety of teaching strategies to stimulate the artistic expression of children's ideas with 'unconventional

teaching, evoking vivid mental images through verbal discourse and cultivation of pictorial memory' (Thistlewood, 2005: 183-184). Richardson (1948) regards beauty as 'a sense of balance in the underlying and essential brotherliness of things'. Beauty can be found in 'the expression of an idea, in which no one thing counts in its own right, but only in its place and relation to the whole' (*ibid.*: 60-61). She argues that the child is a 'disinterested' artist (this is an extension of the theories of Kant, Tolstoy and Fry, mentioned above). When children are provided with 'spiritual freedom' in painting, the artwork will be 'esteemed for its own sake' (*ibid.*: 85). She also emphasises the qualities of 'order, coherence and unity' (*ibid.*: 20) in child art. These concepts conform to modernist ideas, such as the themes promulgated by Fry and Bell. Fry was influential on Richardson's career in art. He organised a large-scale exhibition of Richardson's pupils' work in London and they subsequently had many experiences of working together.

Richardson (1948) believes that children can visualise naturally and that children should enjoy their art lessons. In the same way as Cizek, she rejects the need to copy from nature because she conceives art as concerned with 'matching something inward' (*ibid.*: 61). Therefore, it is necessary to help children match the pictures they produce with the mental vision they wish to express so that their expressions can be original and individual. In this way they will be able to achieve 'a completely truthful expression' (*ibid.*: 60). She regards 'ideas' as more important than skills (*ibid.*: 58), because skills are the 'servant' of ideas (*ibid.*: 61). After a child has grasped his/her ideas, skills may be taught by means of self-discovery activities. These activities, which a child enjoys, will make him/her aware of the availability of different possibilities.

The connection of Richardson's 'New Art Teaching' approach to Enlightenment ideas is clear. She declares her wish to break away from 'conventional methods of teaching' (Richardson, 1948: 80) and the 'orthodox' approach of requiring children to

imitate adults' 'conventional art' (*ibid.*: 17). However, she rejects 'the modern method' of allowing absolute freedom for a child with the absence of any influence by the teacher (*ibid.*: 59) (an idea introduced by Rousseau). She argues that 'enlightened teaching' is not about using new materials or equipment (*ibid.*: 60), but that the freedom of a child should be guided with sympathy, by means of sharing instead of teaching. An art teacher should help students to build up their mental images. Instruction and verbal cues should direct and steady children and resolve any problems they may have in the process of artwork production. In contrast to Cizek, Richardson insists that without this kind of guidance children would not be capable of any achievement at all. She does, however, maintain that a teacher should not feel superior to his/her students.

Richardson's strategy of controlling the learning environment is different from Cizek's. In addition to the children's own artworks, she also displays reproductions of masterpieces adjacent to popular objects which appear in master artworks. The purpose of this is to familiarise the children with artistic content, as well as to operate at the level of the unconscious 'defence' of 'taste' (Richardson, 1948: 23). She subliminally undermines the 'poor quality' visual attractions in the children's living environment.

In the twentieth century, critics of the child-centred learning approach claimed that this approach involved 'laissez-faire teaching attitudes', 'lowering standards' and was 'not cost-effective'. Some educators blamed Richardson for her promotion of 'children's innocence, spontaneity, imagination and ideas' and denied her 'means to nurture and stimulate the imagination' (Taylor, 1989: 37). However, Taylor argues that it was only under the misinterpretation of the followers of Richardson's idea that the teachers' role was changed to be a 'passive non-interventionist'. Similarly, John Swift (1992: 118) also rejects the charges leveled against the child art theory of Richardson, because it was Fry who made use of the characteristics of child art to justify his theory

of 'primitivism' which Fry considered as a 'normal phenomenon' and a 'continuum' of human nature. The works of Richardson's pupils provided the evidence Swift needed. From the results of a research study he conducted, entitled *Marion Richardson and The Mind Picture* (1986), Swift found that the feedback given by Richardson's past pupils and students supported her claims. He concluded that Richardson's educational theory had 'proven value' (*ibid.*: 129).

Design education and visual studies

The shift to an emphasis of 'design education and visual studies' was 'a reaction to the child-centred approaches' (Taylor, 1992: 22). From the 1930s to the 1960s, elements and design principles were emphasised by the Bauhaus (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 63), which was in pursuit of pure form, which relates to the progressive ideal of abstraction and universalism. At that time, the criteria for good design were that it should be simple and functional. It was believed that good design would benefit the community as well as common people. Hence, art was perceived as improving 'the quality of daily life' (*ibid.*: 64). In Britain, Maurice de Sausmarez's *Basic Design: the Dynamics of Visual Form* (1964) was highly influential. De Sausmarez (1964/1980) insisted on the need to 'place emphasis on intuitive and analytical work with materials and formative principles'. It was believed that this could 'establish effective bridgeheads for contacting and influencing the more specialized provinces of creative activity, painting, sculpture, graphic design etc.' (*ibid.*: 14). The same movement occurred in the US. Publications such as *Visual Studies: a Foundation for Artist and Designers* (1985) written by Frank Young is an example.

Arthur Efland, Kerry Freedman and Patrica Stuhr (1996: 18-20) identified four key concepts of modernism: 'epistemology, social identity, location and psychological health', which have shaped the art curriculum and determined the meanings conveyed in

its content. To conform to the modernist epistemology of objectivity and freedom, 'formalism' and 'expressionism' are emphasised in art; freedom of expression is promoted and authoritarian influences are restrained. Ironically, society at large is dominated by 'the cultural supremacy of the West' and its progressive thought. I think technological advancements and progressive thinking have conquered the minds of people from non-Western countries. The consistent reliance on Western educational models in the development of the art curriculum in Hong Kong is evidence of this dependency.

Critical Studies in Britain

A change from merely focusing on formal properties of art to four standpoints - 'content, form, process, and mood' - in approaching a work of art was promoted by Taylor (1989: 40). From the 1980s to the 1990s British art education was highly influenced by the Critical Studies in Art Education (CSAE) Project, which ran from 1981 to 1984 and was directed by Rod Taylor. Taylor published the book *Educating for Art* in 1986. He suggested that art education should include the domains of 'conceptual, productive and contextual and critical' (*ibid.*) and four phases of art learning: 'making, presenting, responding and evaluating' (Taylor, 1992: 28).

Taylor (1986: xi) emphasised children's critical awareness and understanding of art and the need to nurture their 'knowledge and judgement' to enhance their creativity; this was to be done through 'personal involvement rather than as a fact-learning exercise'. He argued that children need to acquire a critical vocabulary that enables them to effectively express their ideas about their own work and that of artists and designers; and that this would extend their experience from their own cultures and other cultural communities, including both high art, folk, popular and other ethnic arts. In this way, issues of race, gender and special needs could be addressed (Taylor, 1989; Taylor,

1992). He also insisted on the need to experience works in the original, supported by background research and study. He suggested visiting museums, galleries and workshops, and also introduced the artists-in-residence projects (Taylor, 1986). He actually developed such a programme at the Drumcroon Education Art Centre in Wigan in the late 1980s (Taylor, 1991: 6).

The Recording of Achievement model, with clear assessment criteria, proposed by Taylor had a strong impact on the assessment system for examinations in Britain. In the past the assessment criteria remained ‘a well-guarded secret’ among few examiners. With the new model, clear criteria could be shared and understood among examiners, teachers and students. With the introduction of this model, new ways of assessment for public examination could be introduced: for example, course work (Taylor, R. & Taylor D., 1990: v, 174).

However, scholars such as Maurice Barrett argued that Critical Studies was suitable only ‘for the over-thirteens but not for younger children’ (Taylor, 1989: 35). Taylor replied that in nurturing young children’s imagination there could be a ‘balance between the introduction of the visual arts to young pupils and the process of drawing out responses from them’ (Taylor, 1986: 255).

Discipline-based Art Education in the United States

The emphasis on expressiveness in the early twentieth century was blamed for creating a ‘non-academic’ impression of art education. It was charged that ‘no real learning’ was involved, and hence there was no ‘serious assessment’ (Dobbs, 1998: 7-10). From the 1960s to the 1990s, art education in the United States shifted to an emphasis on ‘discipline-centred inquiry’, which was initiated by Manuel Barkan (1913–1970). Barkan was an art educator at Ohio State University. He adapted Bruner’s ideas in teaching the visual arts by combining the teaching of art history and

art criticism with art-making activities. He worked on several curriculum development projects in order to develop his theories, such as the *Guidelines for Art Instruction through Television for the Elementary School* ^{w2}. Barkan believed that art education should be structured according to how artists work. He proposed bringing mechanisms used by the art critic and art historian to interpret the meanings of work produced by artists (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 65-66). Following Barkan, Discipline-based Art Education (DBAE) was established by Clark, Day and Greer, with a focus on the knowledge and understanding of art (*ibid.*: 67-68). The term ‘discipline’ was used in response to the societal demand to raise academic standards by ‘teaching higher-order reasoning’ in order to achieve ‘stricter discipline’ in studying art (Grant & Sleeter, 1993: 48). Similarly, in the UK, contextual studies and critical studies were introduced into the subject of art. Through the learning of ‘visual literacy’, art is claimed to be able to enhance students’ understanding and intellectual abilities, especially in developing language and communication, critical thinking, and problem solving skills. The ‘instrumentalist’ role of art in general education was highlighted (Dobbs, 1998: 7-10). The claimed of the Hong Kong art curriculum as following DBAE approach by curriculum makers in the 1990s seemed to be merely aspirations. The impact of DBAE on Hong Kong art education remained to be low and superficial (discussed on page 106).

Issues related to the study of identities and values

However, the DBAE approach was criticised by postmodernists for neglecting social and cultural aspects. The importance of the change in the values of art for the purposes of educational change was raised (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 68-72). In response to criticisms of its Eurocentric tradition, content from other cultures, such as those of Asia, Africa and South America, was then introduced (Dobbs, 1998: 11).

There was also criticism of its ‘male bias’ (Blocker, 2000: 372); an over-reliance on elites (Smith, 2000: 362); an emphasis on high art; the neglect of artworks from Other cultures; issues involving the times and places of artworks selected (Wilson & Rubin, 2000: 223); a reduction in ‘child- and society-centred concerns’, and a decrease in the connections among other teaching subjects (Collins & Sandell, 2000: 365). There arose a call for a ‘balanced-concern model for art education’ to attend to issues such as ‘equity’, ‘identity’ and the ‘content of the field of Art education’: that is, ‘humanities education for cultural literacy’ (*ibid.*: 368).

The development from modernist to postmodernist thought in the art world has influenced the development of art education. Postmodernists have criticised such aspects of modernist philosophies as the ‘hierarchy of values’; the notion of representation (to represent other people ‘can signify mastery’; representations may involve the ‘distillation and distortion’ of ideas or meanings); the modernist rejection of the linear progressive concept of time and space; as well as the modernist concept of the individual as being free from societal influences (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 21-22). The study of ‘self and mental health’ based on universal norms is considered to be associated with ‘social prejudices’ (*ibid.*: 27). Therefore, instead of a unity of thinking, postmodernists advocate the ‘acceptance of conceptual conflict’ (*ibid.*: 39) and ‘multiple readings’ from various perspectives, taking into account personal experiences in aesthetic interpretations (*ibid.*: 40-41). According to these philosophies, art is perceived as ‘a form of cultural production’ (*ibid.*: 38), rather than merely involving formal and expressionistic aesthetics. With the concern for ‘otherness’, ‘the importance of local traditions and values in art’ is revitalised (*ibid.*: 39).

One of the postmodernist scholars, Suzi Gablik (1991: 169), for example, criticises the ‘individual freedom and individual uniqueness’ ideals of the modernist ‘value-free aesthetics’. She regards this system, which prohibits any connection with the

archetypal 'other' and with 'the living world' (*ibid.*: 61), as a system of 'denial, distancing and ignorance'. It hinders 'complementary partnership' in social connections (*ibid.*: 170). She suggests a change from a stance of self-defence to more openness (*ibid.*: 176); from being 'self-contained' to possessing a 'relational' self; and from having an 'observing' self to engaging with the world 'from a participating consciousness' (*ibid.*: 177), in order to make art more meaningful (*ibid.*: 182). She proposes 'the politics of a contextual and connective aesthetics' against the 'confrontational, oppositional mind of modernism' (*ibid.*: 169). She describes her approach as 'reconstructive postmodern practice', which shifts from the dominant Eurocentric and patriarchal thinking towards 'an aesthetics of interconnectedness, social responsibility and ecological attunement' (*ibid.*: 22). In this way the identity of the self is shifted from 'the narrow ego' to 'the larger whole' (*ibid.*: 176). Alternatively, there is another approach, which she calls 'deconstructive' practice, which attempts to violate modernist ideals of 'innovation, authenticity and originality' by means of appropriating the work of others (*ibid.*: 20). Gablik proposes a 'value-based art':

Closeness, instead of distancing; the cultivation of ecocentric values; whole-systems thinking; a developed discipline of caring; an individualism that is not purely individual but is grounded in social relationships and also promotes community and the welfare of the whole; an expanded vision of art as a social practice and not just a disembodied eye (Gablik, 1991: 181).

I think 'the reconstructive postmodern model' proposed by Gablik is more appropriate for art education because it provides a direction for further action instead of merely challenging existing values. I have therefore assimilated the idea of the model into this research study.

Like Gablik, Ronald Neperud (1995a: 6-7) questions 'aesthetic autonomy, normative statements, and judgmental pronouncements'. He argues that postmodern art education should query 'accepted assumptions about the nature of art, children's

artistic development, and teaching practices'. He rejects the modernist monopolisation of meanings by experts such as critics, aestheticians and historians and draws attention to the need for the audience to construct multiple meanings through the web of context.

Tom Hardy (2006: 8-10) supports the concept of multiple meanings in postmodern art education. He proposed: 'the little narrative', which includes 'individual stories and symbols' in a 'melting pot'; 'iconoclasm', which investigates the value of artwork taking account of the 'social-political' perspective; 'dialogue and text', which investigate the meaning of art through 'deconstruction and multiple interpretations'; and 'eclecticism', which mixes different elements to form 'new aesthetic relationships'. He worries that 'art is becoming the servant of a socio-political agenda' and points to the need for students to relate their experience to the world outside the school.

The shift in the conception of knowledge in postmodernism has caused a transformation in methods of enquiry, teaching and learning, as well as in curriculum content in art education (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 12). The shift in focus from 'meta-narratives' to 'little narratives' has induced a turning away from 'expert' sources of subject matter. More attention is given to local origins (*ibid.*: 96). From the perspective of theories about power/knowledge, the issues of the domination of 'mass culture' by 'high art'; the power struggle between the 'cultural mainstream' and 'the marginalised'; and other power politics, are studied (*ibid.*: 102). The idea of 'deconstruction' (the term used by Jacques Derrida to describe 'a method of reading in which conflicting elements of a text are shown to contradict and undermine any fixed interpretation' (*ibid.*: 104)) is introduced to the curriculum in teaching art criticism and art history (*ibid.*: 106), with a focus on multiple meanings generated from readers as well as reading to 'uncover oppositions': for example, 'teacher-students, nature-culture, form-content, ourselves-others' and so on (*ibid.*: 107). 'Double-coding' (a term used by Charles Jencks) of curriculum principles is recommended. This means that more

than one style of art or practices can be referred to, compared or integrated (*ibid.*: 110). This leads to the development of art education outside the classroom. Learning about art can take place in different places: at museums, heritage sites and other places in the community, through different media such as the Internet, digital art and so on. The importance of museum education in the teaching of art is growing.

The recommendations for postmodern art education put forward by Neperud (1995a: 9-10) include the following points: 'The content of art studies' should not be 'directly given by experts' or 'other authoritative sources'. Knowledge is not given but socially constructed and is open to different interpretations by teachers and students. 'Content is historically and culturally situated' and there is no 'universal truth' disregarding time and space. Experience with art can be subjective. Practices outside museums are also valuable art experiences. A review of the existing linear sequencing of art instruction is required. The scope of 'studio-dominated art activities' should be widened by introducing 'aesthetics, art history and critical multicultural studies'. In addition to formalist studies there should be a 'focus on the meaning of art'. Teachers are regarded as 'legitimate interpreters, creators and translators of art instructional content'. Neperud emphasises the changing nature of content in accordance with different contexts and experiences. Context consists of 'networks of propositions or schemata' which influence artistic production and expression (*ibid.*: 11). There will be a 'shifting web of context' for 'interpretations [made] by individuals at various times and with different purposes' (*ibid.*: 12). This applies to teachers and students alike. Therefore, what art means is completely dependent on how it is interpreted. In order to cope with the change associated with postmodernism, Neperud proposes making the transition to new forms of art teaching by combining content and context, introducing new areas of study and new objectives, as well as adopting critical attitudes when conducting educational critiques.

From another perspective, Aronowitz and Giroux (1991) regard democracy as essential for postmodern education. They suggest that it is necessary to 'incorporate difference, plurality, and the language of the everyday' in pedagogy and to perceive schooling and education as 'a form of cultural politics' which 'draws its meaning from the social, cultural and economic context in which it operates' (*ibid.*: 187). They insist on the need to listen to the voices of Others; to communicate rather than to 'restrict democratic public life'; to establish 'a politics of differences and social practices' which are 'transformed and unified, without losing their specificity, as part of a broader collective struggle' in order to 'redefine our traditional view of community, language, space, and possibility' (*ibid.*: 189).

The issue of Othering in postmodern art education

In line with postmodernist theories, the notion of Othering is central to postmodern art education. Efland, Freedman and Stuhr (1996: 24-25) address the problem of the Other by relating it to the contact between cultures. They believe that this contact will bring interactions and influences to both parties. When defining Others we also define ourselves. But it is difficult to describe the Other accurately in the course of this transformation.

The Other is conceptualised by Aronowitz and Giroux (1991) as engaging in power struggles. It is 'a deterritorialized object of domination', 'a source of struggle, collective resistance, and historical affirmation'. They accuse postmodern critics of paying little attention to the actual experience of different groups. Besides, postmodernist discourses seldom investigate how people 'actively construct their identities and social relations'. The focus on democratising differences has neglected the problem of 'how difference is formed, erased, and resuscitated' in unbalanced power relationships. In postmodern discourses 'the discussion of marginalized Others' is

abstracted and their voices become hidden (*ibid.*: 72-73). Aronowitz and Giroux propose the concept of 'border pedagogy' to address the issues of the marginalisation and devaluation of the different Other in representations, to understand the power relations which sustain these differences and how a 'deficit' or 'problematic' Other is formed and 'denied'. They perceive the need to make people aware of these oppositions and transformations and to make room for the Others to 'reclaim and remake their histories, voices, and visions as part of a wider struggle to change those material and social relations that deny radical pluralism as the basis of democratic political community' (*ibid.*: 128). Border pedagogy draws upon students' own knowledge and experience, and allows them to present their own voices so that they can identify and give meaning to themselves and others. 'Such experience has to be both affirmed and critically interrogated' so that students can understand the 'wider struggle for voice' in social constructions and be prepared to 'speak from a discourse of dignity and self-governance' (*ibid.*: 129). In this way difference can be acknowledged and 'finality and certainty' for the voice of the Other will be rejected (*ibid.*: 188). This pedagogical framework not only allows people to 'speak' their history and social formation, but it also involves 'engaging collectively with others' (*ibid.*: 131). The need to 'connect' different people 'dialectically' is also emphasised by Gramsci (1971: 418), who believes that 'one can know without understanding' and without feeling. These ideas have had a significant influence on the design of this research.

In addition, Couldry (2000) maintains that the way we make sense of Others should be consistent with the way we make sense of ourselves. We should adopt a practice of 'both speaking and listening'. This is what he refers to as 'an ethic of reciprocity' (*ibid.*: 4-6). He believes that 'recognizing the individual standpoint' could make a cultural study more objective (*ibid.*: 14).

The feminist, Luce Irigaray (1999), claims there is a need to 'approach the Other as

Other'. She explains how a strange Other is no longer seen, heard, or perceived if the Other becomes 'a part of us', unless the Other is rejected (*ibid.*: 121). She supports coexistence and thinks that differences can be respected by ensuring that 'a relational identity' is maintained by both sexes (*ibid.*: 137). She writes:

Thus we avoid the problem of meeting with the stranger, with the other. We avoid letting ourselves be moved, questioned, modified, enriched by the other as such. We do not look for a way for a cohabitation or a coexistence between subjects of different but equivalent worth. We flee dialogue with a *you* irreducible to us, with the man or woman who will never be *I*, nor *me*, nor *mine*. And who, for this very reason, can be a *you*, someone with whom I exchange without reducing *him* or *her* to myself, or reducing *myself* to *him* or *her* (Irigaray, 1999: 124).

Implications of theory for methodology

The particular focus and structure of this study were selected in consideration of the above theories. The questionnaires were structured in such a way that participants were placed in pairs that simulated/represented the 'I/Other' relationship. When they responded to the questionnaires, they had to take into account the existence of another person, who may have had an alternative perspective. I believed that this kind of dialogue might help the participants to understand themselves and the Others better, although the gender composition of the group of participants and other contextual factors did not allow me to apply this theory more effectively.

From the feminist perspective, Donna Haraway (1991) proposes the concept of 'situated knowledges' as an alternative to the relativism claimed by scientific authority. These consist of the 'politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating' (*ibid.*: 195). In shifting positions, the knowing self remains 'partial', 'never finished', and may be imperfectly joined with another but not claimed 'to be another' (*ibid.*: 193). 'Situated knowledges' make 'connections and unexpected openings' possible (*ibid.*: 196). They provide a ground for 'power-sensitive' conversation (*ibid.*: 195). Hence, it is essential to be conscious of one's positioning (*ibid.*: 193).

Haraway's positioning strategy inspired the design of my questionnaires in this study. I have adopted the issues raised by her: for instance, the critical positions of 'gender, race, nation, and class' (Haraway, 1991: 193); and I have used the politics of difference: 'race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual preference', as set out by Aronowitz and Giroux (1991: 101), as the major focus of my study.

Regarding the notion of the Other, Efland, Freedman and Stuhr (1996) think that teachers' attitudes and values with regard to teaching should be transformed. Teachers are expected to guide students to understand the influence of social life on knowledge formation and the 'construction of self' and extend this understanding to an acceptance of 'difference in others' (*ibid.*: 44). Teachers should be aware of the impact of the life experience of both students and teachers on curriculum content and teaching methods, as well as on how the experience is reinterpreted. Issues such as 'identity' and 'multiple interpretations' can be learned in this way (*ibid.*: 46-47). I agree that the life experience of both teachers and students has some impact on the curriculum content. I believe that this investigation into the impact of cultural issues on the perception of pre-service Hong Kong teachers in different contexts will give us a clearer understanding of the identity issues involved in the post-colonial condition. I hope this will bring about an awareness of the power relationships that exist between students and teachers, and between schools and societies at large, which affect the ongoing development of art education. This notion will be discussed throughout the data analysis section.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains a discussion of the research methodology used to study post-colonial identities in Hong Kong. The impact of colonialism on art education in Hong Kong was examined by comparing participants' perceptions of their prior training in art with relevant information from art curricula published prior to 1997. Data reflecting the participants' sense of their own identity were gathered in four questionnaires addressing issues of nationality, culture and gender. The design of the questionnaires was inspired by the 'border pedagogy' of critical theory, which encourages boundary crossing and dialogue between opposite parties. Various situations were introduced in these four questionnaires to enable the participants to form ideas in response to different contexts.

The chapter also addresses issues of reliability and validity related to qualitative research. The research process, research design and the focus of each of the questionnaires are also presented, followed by descriptions of the methods of data analysis and reflections on the research design and process.

I. METHODOLOGY

This research involved an investigation into identity issues related to art education in post-colonial Hong Kong. According to Henry Giroux (2005: 11-12), post-colonialist theories deal principally with the 'politics of the other', 'politics of location', and 'politics of difference and struggle'. Giroux criticises scholars such as Said and others who tend to perceive the post-colonial condition as a simple binary relationship of coloniser/colonised or as a power struggle between 'us' and 'them'. He rejects the ideas of 'monolithic contexts and fixed images of the other' (*ibid.*: 6) contained in these theories, as well as the way they appear to be 'simply reversing the

old colonial legacy' in such binary relationships. Instead, he conceives the Others as 'multiple complex subjects' (*ibid.*: 16) situated within different social cultural and economic locations (*ibid.*: 13). This view demands a new politics and a new pedagogy. As educators, we should be aware of the 'enabling and exclusionary' effects of 'cultural politics formed in binary opposition' (*ibid.*: 6). Hence, over the last decade, a need has arisen for a critical educational theory in order to deal with the post-colonial situation.

With insights obtained from critical theory and post-colonial theories I attempted to investigate the complex and contradictory effects of modernism, postmodernism and feminism on daily life practices. I support Giroux's assertion that studying the interwoven relationships among these theories provides 'diverse', 'provocative' and 'valuable insights to construct an oppositional and transformative politics' (Giroux, 2005: 14). Such critical studies will have a long-term benefit for our society. According to Frances Thurber (2004: 498), 'Critical theory is based on a set of principles that attempt to identify and critique relationships of power and resulting areas of oppression in social settings'. Following the same line of thought, Joe Kincheloe and Peter McLaren (1994: 140) claim that critical research is concerned with 'the empowerment of individuals'. It is regarded as a 'first step' towards political action in fighting social injustices. Power relationships are 'social and historically constituted' and are never fixed or stable; they are related to values and 'ideological inscription'. Very often, states of oppression are reproduced in various ways when those who are being subordinated accept them. The critical tradition demands a 'self-conscious criticism' of ideologies, 'epistemological presuppositions' and the researchers' own claims. It is expected that through the struggles of critical researchers for 'self-location' in various contexts the social relations of domination can be restructured. Self-reflection is therefore essential in this process (*ibid.*: 147). As Carspecken (1999) claims, this self-reflection includes researchers' self-awareness of the way their

subjective attitudes and values are reflected in their writings; their ability to articulate the 'normative-evaluative claims of others', and their awareness of the possibility of distortions in their writing (*ibid.*: 105). Hence, the identities of the researchers should be acknowledged as part of the research. Carspecken also reminds researchers to observe the 'praxis needs' of themselves and the people under study (*ibid.*: 110), because when accustomed identities are challenged, claims made by Others are likely to be rejected. In support of this concept, I shall present my own ideas clearly throughout this thesis.

Being influenced by post-structuralist and feminist theories, critical postmodern researchers are aware of 'the multiple subject positions they hold in relation to the class, race, and gender dimensions of their lives' (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994: 148). A 'politics of difference' is adopted (*ibid.*: 145) by celebrating 'cultural differences' (*ibid.*: 153). There is a focus on situation, while 'claims to truth are always discursively situated and implicated in relations of power' (*ibid.*: 153).

Participants

The term 'participants' was used throughout the study because the use of this term implies a more equal status between the researcher and the researched. In the view of Richard Cary (1998: 245), 'Participants can negotiate outcomes and protect their own interests in qualitative research'. The participants in this research were the second-year pre-service teachers enrolled in the art Academic Major Study in the full-time Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) (Honours) (Primary) Programme at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. The students had taken one art module, *Introduction to Art*, in their previous year of study. The module used by this study was *Art and Culture*, taught in the second year of the B.Ed. programme. It was conducted weekly in twenty-four two-hour sessions. Two lecturers cooperated in teaching this module.

Being a participant researcher, I was responsible for teaching sixteen sessions during the first half of the module so that influence from the other lecturer could be minimised. This meant that the research study was based entirely on my teaching.

It was expected that all participants would be similar in their cultural background and academic profile. The data revealed that they had all passed the Hong Kong A-level Examination and were recent graduates from secondary schools. There were 21 participants, including 18 females and 3 males. They were chosen because the B.Ed. programme at the Hong Kong Institute of Education is the major provider of initial teacher training for primary school art teachers. Moreover, since the students were relatively new to the programme at this time of the year, other programme influences could be minimised.

Ethical issues

I made every effort to ensure that the research followed the code of ethics set by the British Educational Research Association (2000), and the *Code of Conduct, Ethical Principles and Guidelines* (1996) set by the British Psychological Society. The democratic values of persons and knowledge were respected. The data collection and writing of the report were carried out with openness and honesty.

Before taking part in the research, participants were acquainted with its aims and purpose, the focus of each questionnaire, the possibility that the findings would be published and the potential consequences for the participants. They were assured that they had absolute freedom to decide whether to participate or not and that they could also withdraw at any time if they wished. When the above conditions were accepted, written consents were obtained from the students to show that they had agreed to participate in the individual questionnaires (see Appendix I for the consent form). Participants were assured of anonymity and of the confidentiality of their responses.

The reactions of each pair of participants to each questionnaire were tape-recorded while they were discussing their responses to the questionnaire. This information was used to triangulate their written responses in the questionnaires and to supplement information if necessary. These pairs of participants were invited on a voluntary basis. The real names of the participants were omitted and instead they were given aliases, such as Cecilia or Charles.

In the design of the questionnaires and all activities involved, I considered the cultural, religious, gender and other factors that might cause difficulties in the participants' context and ensured that the information presented in the thesis did not violate privacy requirements. As a participant researcher, I was aware of my position of authority over the participants resulting from the teacher/student relationship. To ensure that the students' participation in the questionnaires did not affect their assessment results, the activities involved in this study did not contribute to any part of their assessed assignments. However, the experience participants acquired through responding to the questionnaires was expected to help them to formulate their ideas and strengthen their ability to conduct their own individual research assignments after the research activities had been completed.

Research Method

This research employed a qualitative, naturalistic, case study approach. According to Elliot Eisner and Michael Day (2004: 497), 'Case studies are in-depth analys[is]s of individuals, groups, or settings. These studies use several data-retrieval and analysis techniques to gather and triangulate significant data, including interview, video, participant observation, and artifact collection'. A case study method was chosen for this study because of its 'particularity and ordinariness', determining factors for using the case study as identified by Robert Stake (1994: 237). The particularity of

this case lies in the context of the participants, who were exposed to both Eastern and Western values and who were growing up in the process of social and political transformation during the early post-colonial period. It was expected that their responses would reflect how people reacted to the politics of that particular location and time. The uniqueness of this study is related to the location of the participants, all of whom live in Hong Kong and speak Cantonese, which is different from both 'putonghua', the official language of China, and 'Mandarin', which is spoken in Taiwan. To a certain extent, this difference in language has kept the Hong Kong people apart from the 'mother country', China. However, the experiences of Westernisation, de-colonialisation, nationalisation and globalisation are also common to other countries in their post-colonial period. The issues on which this study focuses, such as relationships between races and genders, are also common to all societies. In order to obtain an understanding of the complexity of the case, I introduced in the questionnaires a number of different contexts relevant to the issues identified, so that more concrete responses could be made by the participants. In the data analysis, the local significance of participants' responses was investigated. The data were also examined taking into consideration theories with different perspectives: for example, in the discussion about national dress, the theories of post-colonialism and feminism were employed.

To determine the uniqueness of the situation, I investigated the historical background to the development of art education in Hong Kong by means of a content analysis of curriculum documents and other relevant literature. In order to give a clear picture of the contextual factors that affected the pre-service art teachers in Hong Kong (the subjects of this study), I also studied Chinese and Western thought and practices related to the issues raised in this study.

This study made use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The

data were collected by means of semi-structured questionnaires and tape-recorded discussions, together with the textual analysis of historical documents. The major part of the research focused on information collected by the semi-structured questionnaires, because these provide data economically and 'in a form that lends itself to the purposes of the study' (Verma & Mallick, 1999: 117). It was expected that the responses thus elicited would be more focused and that they might be analysed more easily and precisely. For some questions that involved a variety of answers, open questions with spaces provided for written responses were arranged.

Validity

Throughout this research study my voice as the researcher is present. This is different from the common practice of traditional researchers, whose voices remain silent in order to secure neutrality in their research study. Phil Carspecken (1999: 111) argues that 'no analysis will be strictly neutral because all meaningful acts... carry evaluative claims and carry identity claims of the analyst (or scientist) as well'. Critical research 'judges as well as describes social reality'. Regarding the possibility of bias in qualitative analysis, Virginia Olesen (1994: 165) argues that 'biases' are actually 'resources' and that reflexive feminist researchers are able to use them to guide their data collection and analysis. Being a participant researcher and a teacher of the participants in this study, my position might well have had some impact on their responses to the questionnaires. This might have caused some distortion of the participants' responses. In some circumstances participants might not have been willing to present what they really thought about particular problems. An example of this may be seen in the participants' choice of aesthetic preference. I have been very cautious about such cases and have exercised self-reflectivity in dealing with participants' responses. This is considered acceptable by Joe Kincheloe and Peter

McLaren, who argue that,

To a critical researcher, validity means much more than the traditional definitions of internal and external validity usually associated with the concept. Traditional research has defined *internal validity* as the extent to which a researcher's observations and measurements are true descriptions of a particular reality; *external validity* has been defined as the degree to which such descriptions can be accurately compared with other groups. *Trustworthiness*, many have argued, is a more appropriate word to use in the context of critical research (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994: 151).

Other scholars, for example, Robert Stake and Patti Lather, recommend the method of triangulation to reduce the possibility of misinterpretation. Borrowing Flick's idea, Stake (1994: 241) defines triangulation as 'a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation'; 'triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen'. In Lather's words, triangulation involves 'multiple measures to include multiple data sources, methods, and theoretical schemes'. The 'multiple measures' I used for the purposes of triangulation were the five questionnaires and the historical documents; the 'multiple data sources' included written responses, tape-recordings and documentation, while the 'theoretical schemes' included critical theory, feminist theory and post-colonial theory. Lather also insists that 'the researcher must consciously utilize designs which seek counter patterns as well as convergence if data are to be credible' (Lather, 1991: 66-67). The border pedagogy used in my research is an example of counter patterns.

Besides 'triangulation', Lather also suggests the need to deal with 'construct validity', 'face validity' and 'catalytic validity'. According to Lather (1991), 'construct validity' is achieved through the vigorous self-reflexive study of theories. 'Face validity' is referred to as a definite and repeated confirmation of the result by means of 'recycling description, emerging analysis, and conclusions back through at

least a subsample of respondents' (*ibid.*: 67). 'Catalytic validity represents the degree to which the research process re-orient, focuses and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it'. Besides 'recognition of the reality-altering impact of the research process', participants also 'gain self-understanding and, ultimately, self-determination through research participation' (*ibid.*: 68). I made repeated confirmations of the results through various means in my data analysis, and after participants had responded to the questionnaires I gave them feedback on their responses.

The various means of dealing with validity suggested by Lather were employed throughout the data analysis of this study. Various methods of triangulation were employed. In order to achieve 'face validity', the data were collected from multiple sources. The study of the context of art education in schools in Hong Kong, for example, made use of documentary records such as the primary and secondary art syllabi [curricula]. This information was contrasted with the participants' responses in Questionnaire One regarding their experience of how the curriculum was implemented. While the participants were responding to the questionnaires, the discussion of a selected pair was tape-recorded so that more detailed information could be collected. It was hoped that the availability of a tape-recording of the discussion might also increase the validity of the data analysis. I also talked with students when unsure what they meant.

Gender issues were discussed in the contexts of cultural identities, family culture, gender roles and feminist art, as well as through participants' identification of their aesthetic preference. The same phenomena were also examined according to a variety of theories: colonialism, nationalism, post-colonialism, modernism and postmodernism. This way of working is a means to achieve 'construct validity'. In addition, examples drawn from daily life experiences were provided in the questionnaires so that

participants could perceive the issues more easily. Numerous pictures of people of different nationalities were collected from participants from the relevant nations. Pictures presented in other questionnaires were collected from the participants' local culture. It was hoped that this would facilitate participants' 'self-understanding' and 'self-determination'. It served the purpose of 'catalytic validity' suggested by Lather.

Limitations

Since the case study focused on a single class of only 21 students, the result is not considered to be generalisable to a larger population. All the individuals concerned had been brought up in a particular cultural context and had particular cultural experiences. The study was conducted five years after the reunification of Hong Kong with China in 1997, that is, during the early stage of the post-colonial period. This historical experience could not be repeated elsewhere nor could it be repeated in Hong Kong, since the educational reform was introduced in 2000 and the transformation is still in progress. The same situation exists in curriculum development at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, the context with which the participants in this study were confronted. The art curriculum has been changed several times from the time I began to conduct this study until now, that is, 2007. Hence, one cannot generalise their opinions.

As mentioned above, the teaching of the module was delivered on a collaborative basis. My teaching sessions were scheduled in the first part of the module; however, this collaboration may have had an impact on the content of the course, on the participants' perceptions of the theories and on how they expressed their views. The research content, teaching strategies, time frame and so on were restricted by the predetermined course outline, and therefore had to be adapted to fulfil my needs and the Institute's requirements.

The Research Process

A pilot study was carried out with participants with the same background (B.Ed. Year Two students at the HKIEd) in 2001. This pilot study was designed to investigate student teachers' personal perceptions of debates around cultural issues related to modernism, postmodernism and cultural theories, informed by pre-course experiences. A total of six questionnaires were distributed in different teaching sessions. These questionnaires investigated participants' prior training in art and their perceptions of the primary and secondary school art curricula; participants' responses to popular debates raised by modernists and postmodernists; issues involved in identifying cultural identities and differences; participants' existing knowledge of Chinese vernacular architecture, as well as an overall evaluation of the programme. The information obtained in the overall evaluation was used to triangulate the responses of the participants in the other questionnaires. The responses were examined and a content analysis was conducted.

The design of Questionnaire One, which collected information about the participants' prior training in art, was found to be useful, and was therefore retained for my actual research study. The other questionnaires invited participants' comments on cultural issues. Participants' responses to four arguments popular among modernists and postmodernists were examined in these questionnaires. These arguments were:

Is it essential 'to destroy the old to establish the new'?

Which is more important for an artwork: formal qualities or connotation?

Less is more.

Modern architecture is dead.

When conducting a review of the pilot study, I found that the participants did not possess adequate skills in making visual analyses to support their statements. Without these skills their messages could not be properly expressed. On the other hand, the

questions raised in the questionnaires had drawn participants' attention to the identified issues but they had failed to stimulate the participants' thinking as to why the discriminations between old and new, less and more, formalism and connotation, modern and not modern, were made, or on how social factors were involved. Neither could participants make relevant comparisons between cultures. This was partly owing to their limited knowledge of art, since they were all at the early stage of their study, and partly owing to the vagueness of the questions. There was a need to introduce more structured questions and to supply more clues. On reflection, I concluded that the pilot study lacked a central focus, which led to the inclusion of a number of irrelevant questions and answers. In order to ensure that the new instruments in the final research had a better focus and theoretical basis, I subsequently carried out more extensive research into cultural theories.

After conducting the pilot study, I came across Said's theory of Orientalism (1993) and I realised that my emphasis on the difference between East and West was causing problems. Therefore, in my final research I shifted to include more cultural and national diversity. Moreover, the questionnaires in the pilot study addressed many issues at one time. To ensure a clear focus in each questionnaire in the final research, one issue was addressed per questionnaire and any emphasis on the values of the dominant power was avoided. I also noticed that I had collected an excessive amount of information and data from participants.

The research methodology and design of the final questionnaires were revised according to my reflections outlined above. Another pilot study of the revised questionnaires was carried out in June, 2002, and the questions were modified again.

Research Design

The final research was structured in two stages. The first stage involved a documentary analysis of the primary and secondary school art curricula prior to 1997, which had affected the early learning of the participants in this study. The second stage involved collecting the participants' responses to five questionnaires designed to examine five different topics.

First Stage

Since the training of art teachers is built on their previous knowledge of art, that is, the training they received in primary and secondary schools, a study of the curricula of primary and secondary schools was necessary. A content analysis was conducted of the syllabi [curricula] of Art and Craft for primary schools (years 1 to 6) and Art and Design for secondary schools (years 1 to 3; years 4 to 5; Advanced Supplementary level and Advanced level) published in Hong Kong prior to 1997. Important themes were categorised. Western, Chinese and local themes were identified, followed by an analysis of the identified cultural issues. This provided some background information on the educational context (including colonial influence and values held by past officials) of the participants. It also provided supplementary information for the triangulation of participants' responses. The training background of art educators in Hong Kong and other means of colonial control over the art profession were also studied so that the development of art education in Hong Kong could be seen from multiple perspectives.

The above information addressed the following research question:

1. What were the characteristics of the colonial and post-colonial primary and secondary school art curricula?

Second stage

Five questionnaires were given to participants at different sessions. All the instruments were designed by me and critiqued by colleagues. They were distributed among the participants in five different teaching sessions within three months, the first session being on 3 September, 2002, and the last on 12 November, 2002. The questionnaires were given to the participants in the first fifteen minutes of each session of the teaching programme. This time frame was seen to be appropriate, as it provided an opportunity for students to familiarise themselves with the issues they were going to learn about in the lecture, as well as to assemble their initial ideas about the issue before there was any intervention by me, the lecturer. The questionnaires were collected immediately after the time allocated for their completion.

The questionnaires served a dual purpose. They were used to collect data for this research study and they also formed part of the pedagogy of the module and were used to elicit the participants' responses to the teaching topics. The last question on each of the questionnaires was used to direct participants to view the relevant issues from alternative perspectives. It was intended to make them aware of the impact of their values on their own research studies. Because of the breadth of the concepts involved and the content specified in the official module outline, an in-depth study of all the material was not possible. The content of the study therefore focused on the most important issues related to the art discipline, those issues that are relevant to primary art teaching, and those that are important but generally ignored by teachers. The content of the research instruments was based on ideas taken from cultural theories, such as Orientalism, feminism, colonialism and post-colonialism, and discussions of modernism and postmodernism.

Questionnaire One addressed the effect on students of the policy statements

identified in the art curricula. This questionnaire examined the participants' prior training in art and their perceptions of the current context of art education in Hong Kong. Four questions were asked. The first and second questions asked participants to indicate which areas of the subject of art they had studied and which cultures and regions this art came from: Western art, Asian art, Chinese art or Hong Kong art. The third question asked participants about their perceptions of the factors that affect the emphasis of the primary and secondary school art curricula. The fourth question asked them to indicate which disciplines within the subject of art they thought should be developed in schools and to give reasons for their choices (see Appendix II Q1 for Questionnaire One).

Data obtained from Questionnaire One were compared with those obtained from the content analysis of the curriculum documents. The themes and categories identified initially were further refined.

The other four questionnaires addressed the issues raised in the second and third research questions:

2. What are the perceptions of certain pre-service teachers of their own identities and those of Others?
3. What are the identity issues involved in the process of post-colonial development in Hong Kong?

These four questionnaires were designed taking into consideration the 'border pedagogy' developed by Giroux. According to Giroux (2005), 'borders' define 'differences which are constructed through various representations and practices' that oppress the subordinate groups. In the process of differentiation, he says, Others are devalued. 'Thinking in terms of borders allows one to critically engage' in the power

struggle over the territories between oneself and Others. Through understanding these differences, 'the prevailing relations of power' can be challenged (*ibid.*: 24) and the issue of 'otherness' can be understood (*ibid.*: 20). Giroux believes that by examining the shifting power relations that affect 'different modes of response to the other', the 'ethical' is maintained (*ibid.*: 21). Hence, students are required to take 'a critical view of authority' by reading cultural codes critically (*ibid.*: 22); to build up an 'oppositional and transformative consciousness' by 'speaking with rather than exclusively for others' (*ibid.*: 21) and by analysing those conditions which prevent Others from speaking. Similarly, the oppressed Others should strive to change material and social relations for themselves (*ibid.*: 24). By means of this pedagogy, it is hoped that 'a more democratic global social order' (*ibid.*: 7) can be achieved.

Although the above account of border pedagogy, as given by Giroux, focuses principally on its value to education, I believe that this concept can also be applied in this research setting. When completing these four questionnaires, the participants were consistently located in the opposing positions of 'I' and 'Other' so that they might recognise the coexistence of alternatives in every situation, and controversial views were obtained from different perspectives. It was expected that the reconstruction of the Other would have some impact on the responses of the participants and their values concerning and attitudes towards the Other.

The border pedagogy used in the questionnaires orientated the participants (student teachers) to issues related to the Other in a variety of contexts. The 'I' was placed in different situations with an emphasis on different identities:- national identity, gender identity, class identity (through their aesthetic preference) and traditional Chinese identity.

The participants were asked to respond to the questionnaires in pairs. One entered information for the 'I', while the other member of the group responded from the

various positions of the 'Other' specified in the questionnaires. However, in some instances, participants had to imagine themselves to be the Others. For example, in studying identity issues related to the culture of a different nation, it was difficult to find somebody actually from that nation because Hong Kong is a monocultural society (students from other nations study in separate schools, while Chinese schools are the mainstream). Another instance was related to the availability of both genders in the research group. I was unable to obtain a balance of members of both genders to respond to the questionnaire on gender issues. It is a societal phenomenon that most practising teachers in primary schools are female. Also, when attempting to examine the participants' perceptions of contemporary and traditional cultures, it was impossible to find any participants living in the traditional houses in the villages because the majority of the Hong Kong population lives in modern high-rise buildings in the city. Hence it was inevitable that the voices of the Other had to be imagined by participants.

In each questionnaire four areas were explored:

1. The participants' own identity;
2. Perception of the identity of the Other (or 'imagined Other' in cases where people of another identity were not available);
3. Identification of similarities and differences between the two parties on particular cultural issues;
4. Consideration of alternative perspectives on the issues studied (the last two foci also formed part of pedagogies).

Since the items covered in areas 3 and 4 above mainly served an educational purpose, the associated data will not be discussed in this thesis.

To supplement the data obtained from the written questionnaires, a discussion among a pair of participants was tape-recorded and this recording was transcribed in Chinese and then translated into English. The transcriptions were used to supplement information at particular points: to clarify unclear written responses, or to supply relevant contextual information.

The focus in Questionnaire Two was on identity issues related to participants' aesthetic preference. It attempted to investigate participants' values concerning art in relation to class and other power politics. In order to respond to the questionnaire, one of the members of each group had to bring an artefact or picture of an artwork he/she liked. This participant had to indicate whether it belonged to popular art, high art, folk art or to the subculture, and to describe its visual characteristics, functions and symbolic meanings, and the reasons for his or her preference. The 'Other' member had to posit himself/herself as holding different views from his/her partner and to list alternative views about the selected artwork. These questions examined participants' preferences for cultural art forms; the factors which influenced the participants' aesthetic preferences; their ideologies regarding what constituted good art; and controversial issues involved in making judgements about art. The data collected were then examined using modernist, postmodernist and other theories so that the influence of such theories on participants' values could be identified. The data were analysed using content analysis, supplemented by statistical analysis for particular questions (see Appendix II Q2 for Questionnaire Two).

The focus of Questionnaire Three was on the participants' perceptions of their own personal identity in relation to that of people from another nation. Pictures of people from a foreign country were presented. The name of the country was supplied. A different sample was illustrated in each questionnaire. These questionnaires were

given to participants at random. Examples were drawn from Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. They included the Yi tribe of China, Japanese, a Singaporean and an Indian from Asia; a Ghanaian and a Chadean from Africa; Greeks, a Swiss and a Spaniard from Europe; and a Mexican from South America. The Yi tribe in China was chosen as a referent for the participants' identification with their Chinese identity. It was chosen because both the Yi and the Hong Kong people are Chinese, but they both possess their own distinct culture, hence the situation of the Yi is similar to the situation faced by the Hong Kong people.

One of the participants in the group had to introduce himself/herself to the person from the country identified in the questionnaire. He/She had to compare himself/herself with the 'Other' person from the prescribed country. The foci of the questions were the participants' descriptions of their own appearance; how they communicate with other people; their habits and customs, as well as their knowledge and impression of the culture of the Other in relation to the above-mentioned items. A content analysis of the elements specified by the participants could show whether there were any 'in-group love and out-group hate' traits (O'Keeffe 1986, 194) displayed by participants towards the Others; whether there were any regional characteristics in their cultural identities; as well as whether the differences in appearance, language used, habits and customs were factors which contributed to the Others' being marginalised or stereotyped (see Appendix II Q3.1 for Questionnaire Three and Appendix II Q3.3 for the pictures of people provided in the different versions of the same questionnaire).

In order to obtain an insider's view of these nations, another set of questionnaires containing similar items was sent to people from different nations (see Appendix II Q3.2 for Questionnaire Three A, for people from different countries). Given the environmental limitations of Hong Kong (that is, there is limited access to people from

other nations), most of the questionnaires were sent to international students from a residential hall in England in 2002. These data were compared with the data obtained from Questionnaire Three, mentioned above, for analysis of the different perspectives related to issues of national identity.

Questionnaires with comparable content were thus given to two sets of participants, both of them using Hong Kong as a referent for their responses: that is, the Hong Kong participants compared their own situation with that of the Others from other nations; and the people from the other nations compared their situation with that of the people in Hong Kong (the Others). In this way, the situation of the Other shifted from one side to the other, which meant that the Other had crossed the border, as Giroux suggests. The situation of Hong Kong became the context for the investigation of the 'situated knowledge' possessed by both sets of respondents. Different situations were also specified in the other questionnaires. If these situations had not been specified exactly, the responses of these participants might have become vague and superficial.

The focus of Questionnaire Four was on identity issues related to contemporary and traditional lifestyles. The questionnaire examined the impact of modernist ideas of progress and Orientalism on participants' attitudes towards their own traditional culture, especially family culture. To help the participants imagine the living conditions of different times, an advertisement for a housing estate in Hong Kong, the *Ocean Shores*, published in 2002¹ (six months before the questionnaire was given to participants) and photographs of the Tai Fu Tai Mansion, an existing piece of Chinese historical vernacular architecture in Hong Kong, were presented together with the questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire asked participants to indicate their preferences with regard to living conditions, and to identify similarities and differences between the

¹ Information extracted from Ming Pao 明報 May 16, 2002, pp A1 and A13 and also *Ocean Shores*, website ^{W3}.

contemporary lifestyle and the traditional Chinese lifestyle. This part provided information about participants' values and about their knowledge and understanding of traditional Chinese living conditions.

The second part examined the participants' ideas concerning how people solve their daily living problems, both now and in the past. This was followed by two questions asking the participants what they knew about the fears and wishes conveyed through the surface decoration and structure of Chinese vernacular architecture. These questions were introduced because the decorations, size, scale and structure of the building symbolise the status, wealth and aspirations of the owner. This is the significance of Chinese architectural culture. To a certain extent this culture persists today but has been transformed into festive decorations at home or in shopping centres. The participants' knowledge of this aspect reflected their degree of understanding of traditional Chinese culture as well as their ability to relate their present experience to the past. Both statistical and content analyses were used. The data were examined with reference to modernist and traditional Chinese philosophies with particular emphasis on family culture (see Appendix II Q4 for Questionnaire Four).

The focus of Questionnaire Five was on issues related to gender identities. Participants were required to work in pairs with a member of the opposite gender. Female and male participants were required to indicate their responses on the left and right side respectively of the same questions with the focus on their gender identities. However, since only 3 out of the 21 participants were male, some female members of these pairs had to imagine themselves to be male. Since their views were unlikely to represent the perceptions of male participants, their responses were not included in the data analysis.

There were three sections in this questionnaire. The first section studied gender

stereotypes in the family context. The picture of a ceramic work featuring a man expressing his disgust at having to do housework was presented. The work was produced by a Hong Kong female artist, Caroline Cheng. It was used to stimulate the participants' thinking about gender roles in relation to housework. Participants had to indicate their attitudes towards a man's role in doing housework and towards the existing gender stereotype expressed by the term 'housewife'. Both content analysis and statistical analysis were used to study the data collected in this section.

The second section investigated participants' adherence to existing gender stereotypes in the areas of their physical appearance, their self-image, family roles, social roles, aspirations and gender stereotypes at work; traditional Chinese gender stereotypes; as well as the tensions confronted by both genders. The data collected were compared against gender issues put forward in feminist theory. Both statistical and content analysis were used in analysing the data.

In the third section a picture of the installation work entitled *A Present for Her Growth I*, produced by a female Hong Kong artist, Man Ching Ying, was presented. In this artwork, materials resembling female taboos were used to symbolise menstruation and pregnancy. Participants were asked to identify reasons for accepting or rejecting this work as art. Both statistical and content analyses were used. This information was examined according to feminist theories on feminist art (see Appendix II Q5 for Questionnaire Five).

Methods of analysis

Most of the data collected in this research study were analysed by means of content analysis. According to Frances Thurber (2004: 500), 'Content analysis focuses on research directed at any recorded documentation within a specified context that is

deemed to be authentic and valid'. In the process of analysis, 'issues regarding text such as underlying assumptions, functions of text, roles of researchers, and historical origins' are identified. Borrowing Krippendorff's idea, Mary Stokrocki (1997: 40) puts forward the concept of 'supposition', which is referred to as 'a probable explanation' of the data. The first stage of this process is 'sorting categories' according to 'conceptual clusters' (*ibid.*: 41). For example, one of the foci of the content analysis of the art curricula was on Western influence on the subject content and its impact on participants' values. Accordingly, elements similar to modernist ideals, Western artistic theories or art educational development (mainly those from Britain and the United States) were identified from the content of the art curricula. These were then compared with relevant ideas given by participants.

However, critics of content analysis argue that 'content analysis has been unable to capture the context within which a written text has meaning' (Manning & Cullum-Swan, 1994: 464). For this reason, I have also made use of the post-structuralist approach in analysing the power issues reflected by the data. According to Peter Manning and Betsy Cullum-Swan, post-structuralism 'reverses the usual adherence to dominant cultural values' of 'conventional canons of interpretation'. Instead of a text being seen as an 'object or thing', it is perceived as carrying multiple codes and perspectives which convey multiple meanings (*ibid.*: 468). I have drawn on many theories in analysing the data. The themes identified from the content analysis were examined according to post-colonial theories so that the contextual factors that affected the participants' experience and values could be identified. This can be illustrated in my discussion of the development of Chinese art in past art curricula in Hong Kong. The shifting emphasis between Chinese and Western art reflected the complex notions of nationalism and anti-colonialism. The power struggle between the dominants and subordinates

was reflected in the selection of art forms in the curricula, especially Chinese painting, which represented the scholar culture. Art was differentiated from craft, which was considered as outside the territory of art. Local art occupied no space in the curricula because it was absorbed into Chinese art. This reflected the gradual disappearance of the Hong Kong identity in real-life situations during the post-colonial period.

II. REFLECTIONS

Ongoing reflections during the research process

The research process gave me rich insights and new understanding. Originally, the focus of this thesis, and of the research carried out in 2002, was intended to be on the influence of the nationalisation and decolonisation initiative on art education and pre-service art teachers in Hong Kong during the post-colonial period. However, in the course of the research I realised that there is a strong demand for localisation in Hong Kong and also that the worldwide trend of globalisation was having considerable influence in Hong Kong. A study of the development of the policy statements in the art curricula prior to and after the handover of Hong Kong to China suggested to me that the strategies for domination used by the colonial government continue to be used today in the post-colonial period by the Chinese mainland and the new Hong Kong government. At the same time, it did not appear that the policy statements concerning nationalisation were having much effect on the participants.

Following a further review of the literature on theories of culture and identity, post-structuralism and post-colonialism, I learned about the concepts of Othering and the crisis of identities and I discovered alternative perspectives of equal importance from which to address the issue of colonialism. I also realised that the phenomenon of the coloniser and the colonised, or of the dominant and the oppressed, may be present at

both national and local levels. The use of different perspectives would have a significant effect on the results of the study. I chose to analyse the data using these multiple perspectives in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the power struggles involved in the various aspects of colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong.

After considering critical theory, which points to the need for constructing a critical discourse both to constitute and reorder the ideological and institutional conditions for a radical democracy (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991), I think I should have provided more opportunities for participants to learn about Others and at the same time to be critical of their own conceptions of Others. I should have acquired a deeper understanding of critical theory before designing the questionnaires and collecting the data.

Reflections on the research design

Although the issues of race, class, gender and critiques of modernist philosophies are all common discourses in cultural theories, if I were to re-design the research I would focus on fewer topics. The use of five questionnaires involving five different issues in this study led to the need for an extensive amount of work in the literature review and for skills in dealing with the complexity of interwoven relationships among the concepts.

If I were to do the study again, I would integrate the gender issues into the other questionnaires to give a more natural feel. For example, the section on feminist art would be placed under the examination of aesthetic preferences, the discussion of gender stereotypes under the study of national identities, and gender stereotypes related to family culture would be placed in the section on contemporary and traditional lifestyles. In this way, a more comprehensive view of gender politics and of the interwoven nature of gender politics could be obtained.

Owing to contextual limitations, the dual purpose of the questionnaires, that is, to serve the function of a survey and that of a teaching tool, meant that the questionnaires tended to be too long. Sometimes participants did not have sufficient time to give in-depth explanations. The tape-recordings of the group discussions did provide some supplementary information about particular phenomena, although at times the practice of having only one discussion recorded for each survey meant that I was unable to clarify the intention behind the answers given by other participants.

I supplied some pictures of people from other countries wearing their national costumes so that participants could have some idea of how Others look and thus make comparisons possible. However, the examples shown in the pictures might also have limited the scope of their thinking and led them to make erroneous assumptions. The examples ignored the diversity of traditions and culture in the particular countries for which I have been arguing throughout this thesis. More thought is required to solve this problem.

Difficulties in 'letting Others speak'

In many instances there were too few, and sometimes no, members of the Other group to respond to the questionnaire, giving rise to a lack of balance among voices. There were only two male members for the questionnaire on gender issues, and none of the participants were of alternative nationalities or living in old traditional Chinese living conditions. This was owing to the existing gender composition among the participants (not many male students join the art teaching profession); to the monocultural educational system in Hong Kong (at that time foreign students were not allowed to study at the HKIEd because of the funding policy of the University Grants Committee), which made it difficult to find students of different nationalities; and to the metropolitan character of Hong Kong, which made it difficult to find people living the

traditional Chinese lifestyle. Hence we were unable to make the Others' voices heard.

I initially thought that, in the process of shifting position to the 'imagined Other', participants might be able to ascertain whether their existing concepts of the Other were logical, reasonable, equal, or acceptable. On reflection, I think it is difficult to assume the position of someone who has a different experience using the technique of the 'imagined Other'. However, the special arrangement of distributing a comparable set of questionnaires to people from different countries made the question of national identity an exception. This arrangement provided a context in which both participants were simultaneously the self and the Other, and it also overcame the problem of insufficient information about the Other.

In this chapter I have described the methodologies used in this research and have discussed how I addressed ethical issues and the issues of validity and my own role in the research. I have given an account of how the instruments were designed and why these particular instruments were selected, and have also discussed the method of data analysis. In reflecting on the research design and process I have also suggested some measures of improvement.

CHAPTER FOUR

ART EDUCATION IN COLONIAL HONG KONG

This chapter investigates the development of the primary and secondary school art curricula before 1997. It provides an account of the impact of Western modernisation on the Chinese and of how colonial politics have shaped Hong Kong art education. It examines the means of colonial control: namely, the strategies used to secure Western cultural domination and to maintain harmony among the Chinese ethnic population. In brief, the main findings indicate that, instead of continuing to focus solely on Western art, the post-1970s curricula emphasised both Western and Chinese art. There was limited content of art from other cultures, however, and local art was consistently marginalised. The impact of these curricula on pre-service teachers' identities will be discussed in the following chapters.

In the colonial period, the British government took various steps to exercise control over its colony, Hong Kong. However, in order to avoid upsetting the colonised people, the government tried various methods of downplaying this domination. The measures included inviting foreign educational experts to establish the Hong Kong educational system and manipulating human resources (see Chapter 1).

Exerting colonial influence through art education resources

Prior to the establishment of an official curriculum, Western educational thought was introduced by means of publications. The *Fundamental Knowledge in Art for Primary School Teachers* (1948) and *Research and Guidance on Creative Children's Picture-making* (1949) by Wen Shiao Tung were two of the earliest: they claimed to

have adopted the ideas of Cizek from the West. The then primary school teachers, Mr Lee Kwok Wing and Mr Lee Kwok Fai, were said to have adapted Cizek's theory into their teaching (Ng H. S., 2000: 25). And, in my opinion, the approaches recommended in O'Connor's *Suggestions for the Teaching of Art in Hong Kong Schools* (1955) were mostly a result of the influence of Richardson. O'Connor emphasises 'individuality' and children's 'enjoyment' in art, rather than the 'accurate representation of nature' (*ibid.*: 27-28). She also seems to have adapted some of Richardson's teaching strategies (for example the 'shut eye' mind picture building strategy (Richardson, 1984: 12)). By contrast, Cizek opposes any outside influence on the child, either by the teacher or by artists. On the other hand, O'Connor's strong opposition to copying from existing samples (Ng H. S., 2000: 27-31) may be more related to the ideas of Cizek (Viola, 1936: 21), because Richardson asked her pupils to refer to masterpieces. It appears, therefore, that O'Connor may have been influenced by both Cizek and Richardson in her own teaching. Of course, these references were all drawn from the West.

COLONIAL INFLUENCE ON THE ART CURRICULUM BEFORE 1997

The selection of subject content reflecting Western dominance

From the 1960s onwards, the major means of control of art education was through officially approved and formally published guidelines for the school art curriculum. During the colonial period the term 'syllabus' was used in Hong Kong to refer to the 'curriculum' for primary and secondary schools. For easy reference the primary syllabus is written as PS and the secondary syllabus as SS in this paper. The art syllabi were revised three times: during the 1960s, 1980s and 1990s. This was followed by

the curriculum reform of the 2000s.

The major foci of the syllabi published in the 1960s and 1980s were artistic skills, media and themes which reflected a strong Western influence. Since I am a Chinese born in Hong Kong who has received a Chinese education, on the basis of my experience and knowledge I believe I am able to identify Chinese elements in the syllabus (although, as I pointed out in Chapter One, there are circumstances where purely Chinese elements cannot be easily distinguished). In order to give a clearer picture of the Western elements, a visiting scholar to the Hong Kong Institute of Education, Professor Michael Parsons¹, was invited to identify the Western themes contained in the syllabi. Among the 17 themes contained in the 1960 SS syllabus, all were common in the West (100%), while only 35% were common Chinese themes. Most (77%) of the 22 themes included in the 1967 PS syllabus were common Western themes, while fewer than half of them (43%) were common Chinese themes. Most (81.3%) of the learning areas in the 1960 SS syllabus were Western media and only 18.8% of them were related to Chinese media. Most (78%) of the artistic techniques and media were common in the West, except two items: 'writing/handwriting [calligraphy]' and 'pattern making' (PS, 1967: 6, 11, 13), as identified by Parsons (see Table 4.1 in Appendix III). However, the emphasis on art media diminished in the syllabi in the 1990s.

Almost all of the suggested exercises listed in the PS and SS syllabi in the 1960s and 1980s were adopted from Western culture, with a few exceptions, such as the

¹ Professor Michael Parsons was born and grew up in England and studied at the University of Illinois, USA. He carried out extensive studies on the theories of John Dewey and Herbert Read and has experience of working in DBAE in the USA.

inclusion of 'Chinese printing typefaces' in advertising design (under Graphic Design) (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 24); 'paper cuts and seal carving' in Craft (*ibid.*: 28); 'traditional Chinese drawing technique' (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 14); and 'Chinese traditional painting' (*ibid.*: 18). For the area on Calligraphy, more Chinese items (7 items) were listed than Western items (2 items) (*ibid.*: 29-31).

The child-centred approach

Besides the Westernised content of the syllabi, the development of educational approaches also closely followed the trend of Western art education. For example, the 1960s and 1980s syllabi reflected a belief in learning from nature. This is a significant aspect of Rousseau's naturalistic education theories. He argues that what a teacher needs to do is to give children opportunities to learn from nature by themselves. Similar strategies, such as 'beauty tours, observation studies and pattern and crafts' were used by Richardson (Swift, 1992: 118). The syllabi state:

Pupils should be encouraged to seek for natural patterns in daily life, such as the veining on a leaf, brickwork... (SS, 1960: 17).

To nurture the child's power of observation through the appreciation and experiencing of the environment, both natural and man-made, in order to enhance his awareness of the aesthetic characteristics of the relationship between the material world and natural phenomena (PS, 1981: 5).

The early syllabi reflected the child-centered movement. In addition to the work of Cizek and Richardson, the promotion of child art was largely a result of the efforts of Roger Fry, who organised children's art exhibitions and attempted to relate child art to modern art, and was also influenced by the children's art exhibitions held overseas during the Second World War which were organised by Herbert Read. While Cizek

conceived art as ‘an aspect of human development, the absence of which impaired mental growth and social fitness’ (Thistlewood, 2005: 183), Read saw the ‘child as artist’. In his book *Education through Art*, published in 1943, Read acknowledged the importance of the evolving intelligence of the whole society in shaping the authentic creativity of an individual. He believed that a society needs both a specific group of individuals with distinct creativity and ordinary people with proper taste as initiators and consumers of art. He argued that children could intensify the perceptions of their outside world through their art as the avant-garde did. Since both children and adults shared some creative identification, therefore everyone is a ‘special kind of artist’ (Thistlewood, 2005: 187). Read insisted that these inborn creative abilities should not be repressed by conventional education.

Taylor observes that, under the influence of the ‘child as artist’ concept, in the 1960s the role of a teacher was perceived as being that of a ‘provider of materials and encouragement’ and the relevant environment. Protection from ‘adult values and influences’ was of vital importance (Taylor, 1992: 23). The importance of child art is indicated in the Art Appreciation section of the syllabus (PS, 1981: 23-24). The suggested teaching strategies are:

In dealing with all grades of pupils an entirely individual approach to each one is essential (SS, 1960: 1).

The children must be given freedom to express themselves ... the teacher is there to assist, and to guide - not to give orders (SS, 1960: 9).

In addition, the teachers’ attitudes towards students are to be as follows:

[The teacher] must always be ready to abandon his or her plan to cope with the individual case. To teach art by any rule of thumb methods is damaging and useless (SS, 1960: 2).

Then it will be up to the students themselves to make valid and logical decisions from the alternative solutions. This will provide opportunities for the students to discover their creative potential, critical faculties, and competency in dealing with the social and physical environment (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 21).

When judging work, the teacher should not have any preconceived ideas about results. The term 'correct' is relative, and should be based on the intellectual and manual capacities of each child (PS, 1967: 1-2).

The reasons given in the syllabi for studying drawing are to produce 'aesthetic pleasure' and 'creative and mental development' (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 12). The reference to 'aesthetic pleasure' reveals an adherence to Fry's modernist views. The idea of 'creative and mental development' is taken from the theories of Viktor Lowenfeld. Lowenfeld (1987 [first published in 1947]: 34) conceptualises 'art as a reflection of development'. He believes that a child paints 'in a subjective reaction to the world' and 'the value of an art experience is in the process'. What a teacher should do is to 'understand' and 'give support' for the child's 'expression' which contributes to his/her 'creative and intellectual growth' (*ibid.*: 30-31).

The syllabi indicate support for Lowenfeld's developmental theory. For example, the age range of students in Forms 1 to 3 in secondary schools is between 12 and 14 years. This age range falls into Lowenfeld's 'Pseudo-naturalistic' stage in 'the age of reasoning'. For students over 13 there are more opportunities to make decisions. Lowenfeld argues that a crisis arises in adolescents at this stage that is related to their growing 'critical awareness' of their 'own actions' and their 'art products', and building up confidence is essential at this stage (*ibid.*: 394). The syllabi state:

... it should be possible to cover some of the reasons for artistic decisions, and to begin to build an awareness of aesthetic choice in each student (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 3).

An older child, whose confidence has been disturbed by the growth of maturer intellect, finds the old synthesis of forms inadequate, and turns to the teacher for assistance (SS, 1960: 10-11).

Modernist art philosophies

Prior to 2000, 'art' was differentiated from 'craft' and 'design'; hence the subject for primary schools was called 'Art and Craft' and for secondary schools, 'Art and Design'. Craft was conceived as relating to a lower level of ability and was subsidiary to art. Design was regarded as being related to functional needs. Art was related to aesthetic pleasure, which demands disinterestedness and a purer kind of enjoyment.

Following the British trend, Art Appreciation and History of Art were introduced into the syllabi in the 1980s. These elements widened the scope of the art curriculum from technique-based to artistic traditions from different regions. There was a marked increase in the number of artworks from different cultures selected as objects for Art Appreciation in the 1980s: for example, 'Cave paintings of the Old Stone Age in France and Spain, wall paintings of Egypt, Eskimo stone carvings, totem poles of the Indians of North-west America, masks of Africa, stone Buddha of China' (PS, 1981: 23-24). However, Western influence remained dominant throughout the syllabi. Modernist attitudes, which are quite in conflict with traditional Chinese artistic attitudes, were everywhere. They are discussed as follows:

All the syllabi seem to reflect the modernist idea that traditions are obstacles to change and improvement. The need 'to go beyond the old realistic copying of a model' (PS, 1967: 1) was emphasised. 'Copying' was unacceptable no matter how old or fashionable the style, because it goes against the ideal of originality:

... the copying of the teacher's or Old Master 'style' could not be considered valid art work (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 10).

Since all art work from students must be original, avoid copying any printed illustrations (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 25).

Of course, in traditional Chinese painting practice, copying is essential at the initial stage of learning. It is believed that the skills acquired in this process provide a firm foundation for creativity at a later stage of work. However, this way of learning was described as '[i]mitating the brush strokes of others at second hand' (SS, 1960: 22) and was considered to be inappropriate.

In the 1997 SS Forms 1-3 syllabus, some new art forms, such as photography and computer art, were introduced. In addition to reflecting the technological changes taking place in society, this marked an acceptance of reproductions and 'copying' from other sources, since they are not 'original' in the modernist sense. This signaled the beginning of the transition towards postmodern art education in Hong Kong.

John Dewey (2005 [first published in 1934]: 149-150) believed that change and growth is a natural process, and that truth has to be realised in practice. One learns through experiments, and is guided by scientific habits of mind. Similarly, an attitude of experimentation was frequently fostered throughout the syllabi of the 1960s and 1980s. Students were encouraged to find their own solutions. The syllabus says:

... in all classes no set system of applying colour should be taught. Everything should be experimental and free, so that emotions may have their full effect upon the result (SS, 1960: 11).

The content of 'design' shifted from a more vocational character (functional design) in the 1960s to a more knowledge-based (basic design) character in the 1980s. The modernist emphasis on formalism was strong in all syllabi, with the strongest being

found in the 1980s. Visual elements and design principles were introduced principally in the learning area of Basic Design of both PS and SS syllabi because it was believed that Basic Design is ‘the foundation of elementary visual “grammar”’ (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 1). Exercises related to form, line, texture, proportion and so on were suggested. This tendency continued in the 1990s. The aims are described as follows:

The emphasis in the teaching of basic design is to let children know the basic elements of visual communication and the principles governing their application, so that children can relate these concepts to their daily life and to the things they create (PS, 1981: 14).

...to discover and identify visual elements in the environment and identify the effective application of design principles by artists in their artwork (PS, 1995: 28).

The emphasis on formalism was probably a result of the popularity of the Bauhaus in the West in the 1960s (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 63) and also of the influence of design education and visual studies in Britain. Design education emphasised the need to acquire an ‘art vocabulary’ relating to the practice of basic artistic skills (Taylor, 1992: 20). Visual studies were introduced as ‘a reaction to an overreliance on the imagination as children’s sole means of producing art’ (*ibid.*: 21). Basic Design was considered as one of the major study areas in the 1980s PS and SS syllabi in Hong Kong and its concepts could be applied to other areas. This conforms to the suggestions made by De Saumarez (1964/1980).

The syllabi also maintained the modernist ideals of individuality, freedom of expression and the preference for simplicity:

Individuality and competency in visual expression through constant practice should be stressed rather than ‘likeness’ or proportion (PS, 1981: 7).

One can do whatever he likes to enrich his painting as long as he knows clearly what he is trying to do (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 15).

...simple forms and child-like approach will be of particular interest to children (PS, 1981: 23).

[The selection of Chinese sculptures for appreciation depended on their] 'simplicity and purity in form' (*ibid.*: 24).

However, a contradiction regarding teaching approaches can also be found:

Abstract subjects can be begun from music or merely from making shapes on paper with a brush in colours [original wording].

If attempted, the formation of abstract ideas for this work should be based on a conglomeration of natural and real objects, so as to discourage any pictures of so-called 'modern art' (SS, 1960: 8, 9).

The former statement recommends the non-figurative way of producing modern abstract artwork, while the latter rejects modern abstraction.

In the art syllabi in the 1980s, the scope of visual studies did not extend to areas like print-making, three-dimensional work, crafts, sculpture and ceramics. These areas remained technique-based, while Graphic Design remained theme-based. This inconsistency may have arisen because of the composition of committees: some members (teachers, lecturers and inspectors) who drafted the syllabi were not professional curriculum developers. There was laissez-faire control over the drafting of the syllabi. This problem persisted until 1997.

The modernist emphasis on particular styles, aesthetic choice and taste was consistent in the syllabi:

... a careful discrimination should be made against fanciful illustrations taken from chocolate boxes, comics, etc. (SS, 1960: 3).

Unsuitable 'fancy' type [of Chinese typeface] will spoil unity in the design and detract from forcefulness in the message (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 24).

... symbolic, surrealistic or even abstract paintings are all valuable forms of expression (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 15).

... to give junior forms an outline picture of the movement of art styles... reasons for artistic decisions, and ... to build an awareness of aesthetic choice (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 3).

... the purpose of teaching art in school is ... only to encourage and develop the faculties of the majority in taste, observation and judicious enjoyment (SS, 1960: 14).

An example of conflicting instructions was observed by Professor Parsons:

Children should be encouraged to develop their creative powers and taste...

However, a free hand cannot always be allowed, guidance should be given at all stages (PS, 1967: 1).

The syllabi show support for the modernist orthodoxy of 'art for art's sake' promoted by Greenberg (1961):

... the enjoyment of creative work for its own sake will provide a lifetime of exploration and enrichment (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 9).

In the modernists' view, only talented people can become artists and few people in society possess such ability. According to the syllabi:

... the teaching of art to children is not intended to produce artists. Only one child in many hundreds can hope to become one (SS, 1960: 9).

The actual handling of pupils who are not gifted (the majority are not)... (SS, 1960: 2).

There was a consistent emphasis on certain art forms in the 1960s and 1980s syllabi: for example, drawing, painting, printmaking, design, crafts, sculpture and three-dimensional art. The dominance of picture-making or two-dimensional media

was evident since they occupied a greater proportion of the overall content and were the major components of Art Appreciation and History of Art. For all syllabi in the 1980s, representative artworks from different periods and the names of great masters were selected. It was not until the 1990s that a more comprehensive selection of art forms was introduced into the PS syllabus, including things like prints, sculptures and crafts (PS, 1995: 141-144). The fact that everybody has a right of access to art and is qualified to make contributions is acknowledged. The category of ‘minor arts’ was added to Chinese art. These included bronze ware and imperial porcelain wares of noble quality (SS Forms 1-3, 1997). An emphasis on the importance of high art was, however, maintained in both the Advanced Supplementary Level (AS-level) and the Advanced Level (A-level) syllabi in the 1990s. The claim that the contents of the syllabi were related to students’ daily life practice seemed false, and the syllabi seemed only to be paying lip-service to this idea.

The influence of Critical Studies and Discipline-based Art Education

In the 1995 PS syllabus, there was a sudden shift from a technique-based and vocationally oriented curriculum toward a focus on children’s abilities in knowing about art, responding to art and producing art. This syllabus emphasised children’s ‘artistic vision’, ‘critical thinking skills’, ‘problem-solving skills’, ‘visual literacy’ and knowledge of ‘artistic heritage and its development’ (PS, 1995: 7-8). This was in line with the ideas advocated in the design education movement (1970s), which saw ‘problem-solving skills’ as a means of making links across disciplines; and those of the Critical Studies Art Education (CSAE) project in the UK (1981 to 1984), which emphasised the need for a ‘critical vocabulary’ in understanding pupils’ own work and

other cultural practices and traditions (Taylor, 1992: 26). It also reflected the influence of Discipline-based Art Education (DBAE) from the United States. The syllabus indicates the importance of critical analysis and of understanding the meanings of artworks in different cultural contexts:

Responding to and making art involve complex skills in understanding nuances of quality and meaning embedded within the cultural context...

... Therefore, a comprehensive approach to art education requires not just making art alone but critically looking at art and understanding its meaning in a broad cultural context (PS, 1995: 8).

The Art Criticism in the 1997 SS Forms 1-3 syllabus no longer focused on the styles of artists and movements but on how art functioned within the social and historical context in which were constructed students' aesthetic values. The introduction of Art Criticism was believed to make the study of art 'more logical' (SS Forms 1-3, 1997: 16). What was deemed to constitute artwork was extended to 'visual forms in our environment' and the 'culture of their generation'. The term 'visual communication' emerged and 'the functions of art in society' were acknowledged, indicating the incorporation of diverse views about art and a change in attitudes towards culture: the awareness of 'diverse cultures, customs and living patterns in the environment' and respect for 'their own and others' artwork' (*ibid.*: 10-11).

The above suggestions reflected the influence of Critical Studies Art Education (CSAE) project, which emphasised the need to integrate making and responding to art and expanding students' experience to include other cultures (Taylor, 1986). However, the syllabi did not mention a need to refer to original works or to acquire background knowledge about them or to visit museums, nor did it suggest any concrete guidelines for critical studies - which were essential elements of CSAE. However, by the end of

the 1990s the influence of CSAE could be seen elsewhere: in public examinations, with the introduction of coursework assessment; and in the artist-in-residence projects funded by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council. It was only in 2003 that the *Visual Arts Curriculum Guide* (2003: 51, 26-27) promoted the use of community resources, as recommended by CSAE, and proposed a model of ‘appreciation and criticism approaches’ comprising ‘literal description, comprehensive feeling, formal analysis, interpretation of meanings, and value judgement’.

An account of the change in the 1990s was provided by a former inspector at the Art and Craft Inspectorate who was in charge of drafting the PS 1995 syllabus. It was discovered that this inspector had made contradictory claims regarding the source of reference for the syllabus. She claimed verbally that she had referred to the American DBAE (which was very popular then) and the Japanese curriculum, but in practice she used terms adopted from the British National Curriculum to hide this influence. She listed the series of books on DBAE concepts written in 1986 by Guy Hubbard, entitled *Art in Action*, as her major reference. She explained that she had not referred to the National Curriculum in England because the drafting of the 1995 Hong Kong syllabus had begun well before the publication of this National Curriculum (*Art in the National Curriculum (England)* was published in 1992, a fact which makes a nonsense of this statement). She recalled that the normal cycle for the renewal of a syllabus was ten years. It was common practice to set up a working group to prepare for the renewal of a syllabus after it had been implemented for 5 years. Therefore, the committee for the 1995 PS syllabus probably started work on it around 1986. She stated that it was she who placed particular emphasis on the content of Art History in the 1995 PS syllabus. She claimed to have put equal weightings on Chinese and Western cultures intentionally.

In this syllabus, the scope of art shifted from being entirely expressionistic to having the diverse concerns of ‘creation, expression and appreciation’. An emphasis was placed on appreciation, which was involved in all of the three key learning areas: ‘understanding art, living with art and making art’.

Parsons claimed that the ‘four aspects regarding knowledge and skills’ presented in the area of ‘understanding art’ as ‘formal, technical, expressive, critical’ (PS, 1995: 12) were adopted from the theory of Harry Broudy, who worked for the DBAE project. The former three terms were involved in the ‘skills of aesthetic perception’, including ‘the ... *sensory* [original emphasis] properties in the work’; ‘the *formal* [original emphasis] qualities of the object, its design or composition’; ‘the *technical* [original emphasis] merits of the object, the skill’; and ‘the *expressive* [original emphasis] significance of the object’, advocated by Broudy (1987: 49-50). In contrast, the syllabus merged Broudy’s first two concepts: ‘sensory’ and ‘formal’, into one, which is called the ‘formal’, and added the ‘critical’ element as the fourth aspect.

There was also a change from specific prescriptions of themes or techniques towards a more general statement of work in the 1995 PS syllabus. The teaching contents of the learning areas were no longer presented in an overall list but arranged according to the year levels of primary schools in a progressive sequence of learning, with suggested percentages of time to be spent on the identified areas. This is in line with some of the characteristics of DBAE:

Curricula are written with sequentially organized and articulated content at all grade levels... Curricula are organized to increase student learning and understanding. This involves recognition of appropriate developmental levels (Clark, Day & Greer, 2000: 31).

The introduction of an evaluation section (PS, 1995: 32) also conforms to the

requirement of the DBAE programme:

Student achievement and programme effectiveness are confirmed by appropriate evaluation criteria and procedures (Clark, Day & Greer, 2000: 31).

Art Appreciation was stated to consist of ‘describing, giving personal response to works of art, observing and analysing, understanding the cultural meanings behind the work, and evaluating’ (PS, 1995: 43-45 [Chinese part]), a definition which is found to be closely tied to DBAE concepts such as ‘creating works of art’; ‘describing, interpreting, evaluating, and theorizing about works of art’; ‘inquiring into the historical, social, and cultural contexts of art objects’, and ‘raising and examining questions about the nature, meaning, and value of art’, as advocated by Dobbs (1998: 3-4). George Geahigan (2000: 176) proposed making the ‘personal response to works of art’ and the identification of ‘the meaning and value of works of art’ the central goals of Art Criticism.

It is debatable whether the 1997 SS syllabus was in line with DBAE. The above-mentioned inspector said that she made reference to DBAE in the design of this syllabus. However, it does not appear to have followed DBAE principles in practice. Only one out of ten items was listed under ‘living with art’ as being related to Art History, and only one was related to ‘local or overseas artists of different cultures’ (PS, 1995: 28). In the SS syllabus published in 1997, History of Art was still confined to ‘Western art and Chinese art’ (SS Forms 1-3, 1997: 7). The content described under the category of ‘art forms’ was similar to the content of past syllabi. Given the low proportion of content related to Art History and the absence of ‘aesthetics’ and ‘art criticism’ elements, which are essential aspects of DBAE, throughout the syllabus, I

think it would be difficult to convince people that this syllabus is associated with DBAE.

Rather, the syllabus seems to conform more to the structure of the Final Report of the Art Working Group for the National Curriculum in England, published in June, 1991 (see Appendix III Table 4.3). This report lists three attainment targets: 'Understanding, making and investigating' (Taylor, 1992: 40), which were later reduced to two: 'Investigating and making' and 'Knowledge and understanding' (Department of Education and Science, 1992: 4-9). The content for 'Knowledge and understanding' was concerned mainly with artwork, whereas the 'Investigating and making' in the final report referred to a 'wide range of reference materials'. The more open concept indicated in 'living with art' in the PS syllabus (1995), which included 'artefacts in the environment' (PS, 1995: 28) as works of art, complied with the focus on 'investigating' in the early report on the National Curriculum in England. The content of the 1995 PS syllabus seems to have integrated the two educational movements of the US: 'art in daily living', which was prevalent from 1930 to 1960, and 'art as a discipline', which was in use from 1960 to 1990 (Efland, Freedman & Stuhr, 1996: 68). The SS syllabi published in subsequent years were all structured according to three learning domains: 'understanding art, making art, and history of art' (SS Forms 1-3, 1997: 7; SS ASL 1996b: 6-7; SS AL, 1996a: 6-7). However, the three syllabi for secondary schools (see Appendix III Table 4.2) did not display any strong adherence to the 1992 National Curriculum in England (see Appendix III Table 4.4), mentioned above. Items listed under the two attainment targets are interrelated and there is a consistent reference to artworks or artistic heritage which was lacking in the Hong Kong syllabi.

Dobbs (1998: 4) admits that the successful implementation of DBAE requires 'a

support network of policy and administrative leadership, professional development, and a variety of curricular and community resources'. Similar opinions were put forward by Wilson and Rubin (2000).

However, the complicated situation in Hong Kong did not provide favourable conditions for fostering the DBAE movement. I think the reasons lay mainly in the colonial situation. The person who drafted the syllabus did not have the courage openly to recommend the adoption of an educational theory from a country other than the coloniser (although it seems to me that both the US and Britain were colonisers in different ways). Hence, aspects of DBAE made up a smaller proportion of the syllabus than they otherwise might have. Besides, there was no concurrent demand for teachers to train in art history, criticism and aesthetics in the section on 'roles of teachers' (PS, 1995: 41 (Chinese version)). The syllabus adopted some elements from the *Final Report on the National Curriculum* in England, published in 1991, in its overall framework in an attempt to hide the influence of the US model (in fact, Mr Kwok Chiu Leung, the then Chief Inspector, published an article on the promotion of DBAE in the *Art Bulletin* after the 1995 PS syllabus was published). It is understandable that under colonial rule, an attachment to the colonial model is more secure than a deviation to models from other nations. With this consideration in mind, policy makers did not actively promote the necessary change; they did not seek for additional resources and support from the government; nor did they initiate a revision of teacher training programmes, all of which are crucial to the success of DBAE.

In the absence of a clear understanding of the theoretical background and necessary supporting systems of the many Western ideas adopted from various sources by past art syllabi, a huge discrepancy appeared between these ideas and the content of the

curricula in Hong Kong.

Attitudes toward traditional Chinese art

The early art syllabi were mostly drafted by expatriates such as Mr Griffith and Miss Stewart (Ng H. S., 2000: 33, 63). This might explained why these syllabi displayed a negative, sometimes mistaken view of Chinese art. For example, the author of the SS 1960 syllabus pointed out that the use of ‘perspective’ by Chinese students was a ‘mistake’ because the authors believed that ‘[perspective] will only upset the child who has not a natural feeling for it’ and ‘perspective is totally absent from all great Oriental paintings’ (SS, 1960: 3) (in my opinion, perspective is actually used in Chinese painting, although not in the same way as in Western painting). At the same time, the syllabi often depreciated Chinese traditional art. For example, the 1960 syllabus suggested that colour should not be used in Chinese paintings, but only black ink. It claimed that the colours used in Chinese paintings are comparable only to ‘unsatisfactory European colours of cheap grade’. On the other hand, the ‘meditative method’ of Chinese painting was considered as merely a type of ‘memory training’ and ‘second-hand’ experience. These techniques should be abandoned and [the Western way of] ‘drawing from life’ should be followed (SS, 1960: 21). Besides, ‘[f]ew artists today have enough time to employ the meditative method of memory training...’ (SS, 1960: 22).

The 1980s syllabi also encouraged students to employ Western style of learning the ‘[t]raditional Chinese drawing technique’ (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 14). The suggested ‘procedure’ was by ‘experiments with tools, materials’ and the ‘drawing of modern scenes with traditional Chinese technique’. The intention of turning Chinese

art into 'Western' art seems obvious. This method of addressing the impact of East meeting West has been widely accepted in Hong Kong since the 1950s (the work of Lin Fengmian 林風眠 is an example).

There was a sudden increase in Chinese elements in the 1980s syllabi. Vickers and Jones conceive that the classic era of colonialism ended after the 1967 riots. Then a less obvious means of control was secured by the joint effort of the British administration, local elites and the wider community (Vickers & Jones, 2005: 173). They 'selectively used the Chinese cultural heritage in the curriculum' to foster 'the sense of being at the periphery of both the Chinese and the Western worlds' which 'assists the consolidation of outside rule' (Luk, 1991: 650). The art syllabi tended to highlight what is good in past Chinese culture; similarly, the Hong Kong History and Civic Education curricula began to celebrate the glories of traditional Chinese civilization (Vickers, 2005: 228; Morris, 1988: 516). This was also a means to resist the revolutionary fervor from mainland China of those days. In this way 'Chinese culture and British colonialism were able to survive together in the shadow of Communist threat' (Luk, 1991: 667). The threat was mainly related to the propaganda nature of Chinese art popular in mainland China from 1949 to 1976 (Galikowski, 1998: 1). By the 1990s Beijing had toned down its Communist orthodoxy and raised the 'one China' principle. It promoted homogeneity by celebrating Chinese past achievements and a re-integration of Hong Kong culture with the 'motherland' (Vickers, 2005: 242).

In the celebration of the values of the modern West and the glories of past Chinese civilization, a dual relationship of China and the West was established. This has been called a type of 'collaborative politics' adopted by the Hong Kong government (Vickers,

2005: 26), to minimise challenges to the ‘legitimacy’ of both Chinese and British colonial authorities (*ibid.*: 241). There were several examples of an attempt to promote a Chinese national identity in the 1980s art syllabi. This was perhaps due to the fact that the authors who drafted these syllabi were local Chinese. The SS syllabus claimed that ‘Chinese art is a great cultural heritage of mankind’ (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 44). Most of the artworks selected for Chinese Art Appreciation were among the earliest: for example, ‘late Chou Silk Paintings excavated in Changsha’; or they were something unique in the world: for example, ‘the Great Wall’; or were among the most successful: for instance, ‘Blue and White Porcelain for export in large quantities’. Artwork produced by the Emperor Song Huizong 宋徽宗 was chosen as representative of the *huayuan* 畫院 style of painting (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 32-34). This shows evidence of the value placed on ‘high art’ as well as an association with Chinese national pride.

A resistance to colonial power can perhaps be seen in the hidden meaning of some artworks, as in the following passage where the ‘Qing Dynasty’ is used metaphorically to represent British colonialism:

The students have to understand what has happened as well as why it has happened. For example, it is more important to know why many painters of the Ch’ing [Qing] Dynasty adopted an escapist attitude than to memorise the names and other particulars of those painters (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b: 44) (painting with special reference to the ‘Four Monks’ was listed (*ibid.*: 45)).

Zhu Da 朱耷 was one of the ‘Four Monks’ who adopted the ‘escapist attitude’, mentioned above. He was one of the ‘Four Monks’ 清四僧, a group of famous painters of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, and also a descendant of a Ming dynasty prince. He sought refuge in a Buddhist temple after the fall of the Ming. As

a demonstration of his loyalty to the Ming dynasty, he refused to speak and pretended to be mad^{w5}. His paintings express his sense of grievance against the new colonial power. For the Chinese, ‘to become a “remnant subject” (*yimin* 遺民), that is, one who “refused to serve two dynasties”, [has been]... widely recognised as honourable’ (Li W. Y., 2006: 5). I think this should not be considered a casual example because the artwork of Zhu Da, demonstrating anti-colonial sentiments, was selected in the *Ten Chinese Paintings*, a teaching resource published by the Curriculum Development Council in 1993.

After the introduction of Art Appreciation and Art History in the 1980s, attempts to maintain a balance between the appreciation of Chinese art and that of Western art can be found. There are 3 art forms each from Chinese and Western cultures (PS, 1981: 23-24); 23 artworks or artists each from Chinese and Western cultures (SS Forms 1-3, 1982a: 32-36); and 11 Chinese dynasties and 8 Western periods (SS Forms 4-5, 1982b). A balance between Chinese and Western elements was also maintained in the content of Calligraphy and History of Art (*ibid.*: 40-46).

As early as the 1990s the need to learn about other cultures was recognised (PS, 1995: 28). However, apart from the general influence of the West and some Chinese items, all art media remained free from the influence of other cultures in the syllabi in the 1960s and 1980s.

The issue of local identity and the depreciation of Hong Kong art

Local culture has been suppressed in colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong alike. Vickers (2005: 260) observes that Hong Kong culture is often featured as ‘a subset of the greater Chinese whole’ and thus the local Hong Kong identity is belittled. He

considers this reluctance to assert the distinctive culture of Hong Kong 'Beijing's strategy for the post-handover re-absorption of the territory' (*ibid.*: 273). Schirato and Webb (2003: 119) claim that China and many other countries are unable to deal with the 'increasing disappearance of a single national identity in favour of local identities'. They observe that many nations have become decentralized and try to 'reclaim their own legitimacy as the government of the governments'.

The term 'local' art was first used in the art syllabus in 1981. It was identified as a means of encouraging children to appreciate art (PS Forms 1-3, 1981: 23). However, artworks by local adult artists were not mentioned. In contrast, elements of local identity had been introduced in the SS syllabus as early as 1960. 'Local history' and 'world history' (SS, 1960: 8) were identified as subjects to be studied. The syllabus appreciated 'good writing' as 'a major Chinese art'. However, local examples were actually shown to demonstrate 'bad taste' in design. This was blamed on the limited supply of designers in Hong Kong (*ibid.*: 20).

Some changes occurred in the 1990s. The study of local culture was stated as one of the aims of secondary schools: 'To enhance students' awareness of the unique situation of Hong Kong – its cultural, social, economic and political characteristics' (SS Forms 1-3, 1997: 8). The insertion of this aspect may have been in response to the demand of teachers (74.3% of 117 respondents) indicated in a survey carried out by the Hong Kong Society for Education in Art (1997: 2). However, in contrast to the detailed descriptions of famous Chinese or Western artists (PS, 1995: 137-144), 'local culture' was presented only as a comparison with the work of 'overseas artists' and in terms of the usage of 'local materials and features of the environment' (PS, 1995: 28; SS Forms 1-3, S1, 1997: 10). The subject content remained vague and non-specific; for

example: 'Good paintings of local artists' (PS, 1995: 140).

The marginalisation of Hong Kong art persists today. In the years approaching 1997, the local Hong Kong cultural identity was merged with the official 'Beijing-inspired' national cultural identity (Vickers, 2005: 217) and it remains so.

In my judgement local culture has been suppressed in colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong alike. The status of local culture is low in comparison to Western culture and Chinese/national culture. The change in the locus of power has made no difference. On the other hand under colonial influence, Chinese art (especially about the current development in Chinese art) and local art have become remote from the experience of students in Hong Kong, and both my students (the participants in this study) and I are more susceptible to Western influence than to national or local influence.

The above information only documents the official intentions regarding art education in Hong Kong. It does not truly reflect what actually happened to the students in the schools. In addition to the political situation, the vast number of untrained art teachers in 1990s Hong Kong did not permit dramatic changes in the teaching of art. The percentage of untrained art teachers in primary schools ranged from 71.5% in 1999 (lowest) to 74.6% in 1997 (highest); and in secondary schools from 10.5% in 1999 (lowest) to 12.7% in 1993 (highest) (Education Department, 1993-1999) (see Appendix III Tables 4.5 and 4.6). This problem has been emphasised by many art educators in Hong Kong, such as Wong Sau Ching (HKSEA, 1996: 39), Wong So Lan, (*ibid.*: 41), Yip Kin Yuen (*ibid.*: 45), and the Educational Policy Committee of the Democratic Party (*ibid.*: 32). The issue was also acknowledged in the official document: *Report of the Holistic Review of Arts Education*, published by the

Curriculum Development Council in 1999:

It is a common practice for primary schools to allocate music and art lessons to teachers who are not trained in the subject. This affects the effectiveness of students' learning. As a result, students' knowledge, skill and aesthetic values cannot be properly developed (Curriculum Development Council, 1999: 18).

In view of the lack of teachers trained in art history, criticism and aesthetics (criticism and aesthetics were only introduced a year after the restructuring of the colleges of education into the Hong Kong Institute of Education, that is, in 1995), it was inevitable that the importance of these elements would be played down in order to minimise resistance from teachers.

The many untrained art teachers in primary schools have relied heavily on ready-made teaching kits which focus more on manual work than on the official curriculum. This has exerted much pressure on the trained art teachers, who as a result have to compromise owing to the need for consistency across classes at the same level. Moreover, some untrained art teachers accuse the trained art teachers of making things difficult for them by creating a 'demanding curriculum' (remarks made by a practising trained art teacher). The laissez-faire attitude of the Education Department (later called the Education and Manpower Bureau, and since July, 2007 called the Education Bureau) towards staff deployment at school level and the absence of any means of controlling the implementation of the syllabi among teachers (Siu, 1996: 49) have meant that this problem has remained unresolved for years.

The curriculum development discussed above has provided the background against which the prior learning and experience of the participants in my study took place. Most of them received their secondary schooling between 1993 and 2001. This means

that their school learning experience fell into the transitional period of the pre- and post-handover of Hong Kong. Their experience reflected what was taking place during this process of transformation (see Chapter 1 for the development of post-colonial art education in Hong Kong). The next chapter will discuss participants' prior training, and their values in the light of modern aesthetics as seen through an analysis of their reasons for selecting their preferred artworks.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' PRIOR TRAINING IN ART, AESTHETIC PREFERENCE AND POST-COLONIAL IDENTITIES

This chapter investigates the pre-service teachers' (participants') prior training in art and also their perception of their own cultural identities as revealed by their aesthetic preferences.

In response to Questionnaire One (see Appendix II Q1) the participants indicated that they had received more training in Western high art than in Chinese art, local art, or art from other cultures. However, they were more confident about their knowledge of local art, which had a lower weighting in the curriculum. The local art they mentioned referred only to popular art, especially comics. They did not claim to have learned much about Chinese or Asian art and they did not feel very confident about teaching them. They regarded 'knowledge possessed by teachers; values of the general public; and Western colonial culture' as being most influential on the art curriculum. With regard to the situation in primary and secondary school art education, they criticised the environment as being non-supportive of creativity. Other issues they identified were related to modernist ideals such as imagination, originality, progress and equity. Only one participant indicated the need to learn about Chinese art because of the affiliation of Hong Kong with China. This reflects a minimal degree of support for the nationalism advocated by the post-colonial government. It is clear that the Hong Kong people are still a long way from identifying themselves as part of the Chinese nation. Most of the reasons given by participants for their preferences contradict modern aesthetics. Although on the surface it appeared that these artworks were chosen because of their

formal qualities, the key determining factor lay in the meanings they contained which were associated with the self or with social relationships. Some participants indicated their preference for Western historical paintings. However, their sincerity in making this decision is open to question. Their decision to present these works as their preference may reflect their response to the teacher researcher's dominant position in this context. Influenced by the power relationship, some participants conformed to the values held by the teacher researcher while others challenged them. The teacher, who had received a Western-style education, appeared as an agent of this dominant culture. As a teacher researcher, I obtained many insights from the participants. I support the idea of postmodern art education regarding the need to hear the voices of different individuals and be open to multiple interpretations.

I. PARTICIPANTS' PRIOR TRAINING IN ART AND THEIR VIEWS ON ART EDUCATION IN THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CONTEXT

The profile of the prior training of the students shows that the majority of them received art training up to Secondary Five level (71 %), 5% of them up to A-level, and 24% of them up to Secondary Three level (see Appendix III Table 5.1). The fact that a considerable number of participants had limited prior training in art may have affected their views on the art teaching profession and may also help to explain the difficulties they had in describing artworks in aesthetic terms.

Participants claimed that they had received more training in Western art (mean=40.3%), than in Hong Kong art (mean=28.6%), Chinese art (mean=16.9), or Asian art (mean=11.3). They perceived 'painting and drawing' as the area of their greatest strength in the art of all regions (Western art, 85.7%, Chinese art, 38.1%, Hong Kong art,

33.3% and Asian art, 14.3%). They indicated that they had received more training in functional design (52.4%) and popular art (47.6%) in Hong Kong and were therefore stronger in these areas (functional design, 28.6%, popular art, 38.1%). However, the items listed under the category of 'functional design': that is, 'utensils, fashion', and those listed under 'popular art' ('comics, film') were not included in any level of the SS syllabi in the 1980s and 1990s. The reasons behind the participants' claim that they had knowledge and strength in these two areas might lie in their own personal daily experience, as well as in the popularity of comics among the youth, rather than in any training given in schools. The change in values in art advocated by postmodernists has transformed the art world, making comics, which were at one time looked down upon as art forms, openly accepted among the youth and many teachers (see Appendix III Tables 5.2, 5.3).

By contrast, despite the prolonged dominance of Western art and the extent of their exposure to it, participants did not perceive Western art as their greatest strength. The mean value of perceived strength in Western art (18.2%) is similar to that in Hong Kong art (17.3%). The mean value of perceived strength in Chinese art (10%) and Asian art (4.3%) remain low (see Appendix III Table 5.4).

In the participants' view, 'Western colonial culture' was the third most important determining factor affecting the teaching of art at school (33.3%). It was less important than the 'knowledge possessed by teachers' (71.4%) and 'the values held by the general public' (42.9%) (see Appendix III Table 5.5). This implies that participants had relatively less confidence in Western art, although they had received more training in it, because they thought that their teachers possessed a limited knowledge of it. Alternatively, they may have felt indifferent to this foreign art with which they did not

identify.

During the year prior to and after 1997 there was an atmosphere of nostalgia in Hong Kong. People worried that their familiar lifestyle would soon be taken over by new ways of life. In that year of change, they could be sure of nothing. It was only during this transitional period that they realised the significance of their identity - something which they owned. The only concrete thing was something with which they came into contact every day: their familiar local culture. This emphasis on local life also seemed to be a form of resistance to external domination - the local people are torn between colonialism and nationalism. In these circumstances, the participants undoubtedly sensed the power of 'the values held by the general public', especially in determining the curriculum, the school environment and educational policies.

In discussing the areas in which primary and secondary schools require further development, the view of most participants conformed to modernist philosophy. One of their concerns was creativity (42.1%). They blamed the structure of the school and teachers for restraining students' creativity and for their emphasis on mechanical training. To these participants, creativity was related to thinking skills, to production skills or to imagination. They believed that creativity could help students visualise themes and extend their understanding to the work of others.

The other modernist ideals participants adhered to were imagination (10.5%) and individual progress (5.3%). The idea that everybody is born equal can be seen reflected in the participants' statement that 'Everybody has his/her own potentials/strength in different areas', whereas the modernists believed that a limited number of individuals are born with artistic talent.

One participant indicated the importance of originality, referring to the '...harmful

effect of an examination-oriented learning environment: in order to obtain good results, students follow others blindly. This limits their creative potential as a result'. Some insisted on the need for 'exploration' and 'diversity' in the use of materials and the ways of using them (10.5%). This indicates support of Dewey's educational theory. Some expressed the need to introduce new media or art forms (15.8%) such as computer art and performing art to reflect societal change and recent artistic developments.

Only 10.5 % of the participants reacted to the 1990s art curriculum's emphasis on art appreciation. They agreed that 'These areas have a positive effect on students' understanding of and interest in art.' Only one participant (5.3%) indicated the importance of studying Chinese art: 'Hong Kong is part of China. Students should know the art and culture of their own country'. This reflects participants' limited orientation towards the values of China and the West (see Appendix III Table 5.6).

II. THE ISSUES OF WESTERNISATION AND COLONISATION AMONG THE CHINESE

Modernisation and education in China

Following the study of Western colonial influence in Hong Kong, I think it is also necessary to see how the Chinese at large have responded to this influence. This will set the scene where the participants are situated. The attempt to resist the domination of the West initiated by the First Chief Executive in Hong Kong by means of a revival of Chinese culture is unlikely to succeed, because Western thought has been deeply implanted in the Chinese since the nineteenth century. An identity crisis emerged when the Chinese lost numerous battles with Western countries during the late Qing

dynasty (from around 1840s to 1900s). A desire to learn from the West was born from the hope that some day the Chinese ‘could strike back’ (Chiang, 1947: 4). Later, with more exposure to the West, the Chinese became acquainted with Western scientific and technological advancements (*ibid.*: 49). With the promotion of enlightened scholars such as Mr Liang Chi Chao [Liang Qichao] (1873-1929), Western thought flourished among the Chinese. In 1898, Chang Chi Tung [Zhang Zhidong] put forward the famous doctrine ‘Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for practical application’ 中學爲體 西學爲用¹. A change in attitude can be seen in Chiang Monlin’s [Jiang Menglin] (1947: 75) description of his experience in 1908:

My work hereafter ... is to find out what China lacks and take what she needs from the West. And in the course of time we will catch up with the West.

He has moved from the wish to ‘strike back’ to the desire to ‘catch up’ with the West. This indicates a way of thinking typical of colonised nations.

Further Westernisation took place in the name of modernisation, and was carried out through educational reforms and the publication of books. In the early twentieth century the family system of education was replaced by a child-centred approach to education derived from the theories of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Dewey, with their emphasis on children’s ‘mental, physical and social’ growth (Chiang, 1947: 110).

¹ In 1898, Zhang Zhidong published his work *Exhortation to Study* (勸學篇 *Quanxue Pian*), opposing the Hundred Days Reform. He insisted on a conservative method of reform by referring to the famous late-Qing slogan ‘Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for practical application’ (中學爲體，西學爲用 *Zhongxue wei ti, Xixue wei yong*), and coined the famous phrase ‘Old ideas are the system on which new ideas can be applied’^{W4}.

Ideas of patriotism which focused on the ‘progress of the country’ were promoted among schools (*ibid.*: 173) (I think this signifies the power struggles between Western domination and nationalism).

As with the colonial experience of Hong Kong, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the large numbers of Chinese students studying abroad (Chiang, 1947: 242) resulted in an increase in the number of supporters of Western ideas, which had the effect of internalising Western domination and colonisation. As time passed, the colonised people became used to the changes made by the coloniser. This conforms to Loomba’s idea that

‘Colonialism’ is not just something that happens from outside a country or a people, not just something that operates with the collusion of forces inside, but a version of it can be duplicated from within (Loomba, 1998/2005: 12).

Despite the tremendous changes which were taking place in China at that time, for instance, changes in styles of dress, in marriage and in the education system, Chiang (1947: 239) insisted that the Chinese would still be able to maintain their own systems:

The Chinese only wanted to absorb foreign elements into their own systems of thought, to be enriched by them; they would not surrender their own systems to an alien one... [or leave them to]... co-exist with the indigenous products.

Chiang (*ibid.*: 243) believed that

The greater our capacity to absorb Western ideas, the more our civilisation will be enriched.

Chatterjee (1993: 6) argues that the ‘fundamental feature of anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa’ lies in the fact that the West maintains its superior position in the ‘outside’ domain of the material world related to economy, statecraft,

science and technology, and which requires imitation; while ‘cultural identity’ belongs to the ‘inner’, ‘spiritual’ essence which requires protection. This type of anti-colonial nationalism operates in such a way that the more successfully it replicates the West the more necessary it is to ‘preserve the distinctness of one’s spiritual culture’. The doctrine, ‘Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for practical application’, mentioned above, falls into this category.

Colonial politics and art education in Hong Kong

Over the long period of British governance (1842 to 1997), the citizens of Hong Kong became used to the legislative systems, education and ways of life introduced by the coloniser. Moreover, Hong Kong remained stable and peaceful under British rule. The resistance of the villagers in the early years of British rule and the riot that took place in 1967 were exceptions. The relationship between local Chinese and the British government was well managed after the 1967 riot. Citizens did not bother to ‘strike back’ or to ‘catch up’ with the West. The strategy used by the coloniser was to involve the colonised in the political structure so that resistance could be minimised. In the later years of British rule, members of the school sector, the then colleges of education and universities, were invited onto the subject committees and the examination board to express their opinions. Vickers (2005: 88) observes that after the riots of 1967 the Hong Kong government was anxious ‘to shed its colonialist image’ by limiting the amount of British history taught in history classes in Hong Kong schools (*ibid.*: xvii). I think this also applies to the content of art history in the art curriculum for schools.

Identity politics and art history

On an international level, David Clarke (2001: 7), a British art historian in Hong Kong, has observed that in art history books, such as Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* and Gombrich's *The Story of Art*, the chapter on Chinese art was placed before the chapter on European Renaissance art and the Pre-Giotto section. In addition, Chinese art was described as 'static and homogeneous'. This is the antithesis of the notion of 'progress' which was seen as being monopolised by Western culture. The same applies to the Hong Kong art syllabi [art curricula] prior to 1997. The content of Chinese art was consistently structured according to the dynastic China of the past. All artists listed were chosen from past history (except one mentioned in the 1995 syllabus). Vickers (2005: 228) argues that the Hong Kong government intentionally created an 'idealized and homogenized vision of Chinese culture' in order to prevent the spread of the ideologies of communism and Guomindang nationalism. The frozen image of a past China could counteract any influence from a modern, present-day China.

Development of local art and identities

Clarke (2001: 36) observes that the nationalists in the twentieth century frequently used Chinese tradition to mask their ideology and traditionalism but did not receive much support from the public. The Hong Kong people tended to keep a distance from both the West and the Chinese frames of reference. A spirit of 'psychic decolonization' was generated (*ibid.*: 8). In this context, two types of artworks were produced, one with a hybrid quality which mixed elements from the East and West, the other focusing on the political agenda, which was expressed symbolically. Modernist Hong Kong artists produced artworks with the 'traditional reference' from Chinese

culture as the subject matter, but represented in the Western modernist style (*ibid.*: 33-34) (for example, the work of Lu Shoukun and Liu Guosong). After the riot [in 1967], this hybrid style of ‘East meets West’ which promoted harmony among the two cultures, matched the needs of the colonial government. The other style, which focused on the political agenda, was rejected by art institutions at first but soon gained acceptance under pressure from the community at large (*ibid.*: 37).

III. DATA ANALYSIS: PARTICIPANTS’ VIEWS ON ART THROUGH IDENTIFICATION OF THEIR PREFERRED ART

Design of the questionnaire

For this questionnaire (see Appendix II Q2) participants were asked to bring their preferred artworks or pictures to the class and discuss them in pairs. In each pair only one member needed to show and describe his/her preferred artwork, while the Other member had to imagine that he/she was a critic of that work. Six questions were asked in the questionnaire. The first one asked participants to identify their preferred artwork according to the categories of ‘popular art’, ‘high art’, ‘folk art’ or ‘subculture’. The Other member had to imagine his/her preferred artwork as being of a contrasting nature. The first participant was required to describe the formal characteristics of the artwork: whether it had a practical function or any symbolic meaning; whether its form affected the meaning; and whether it carried a special meaning for the participant. He/She had to state the reasons why he/she liked the art form and the Other member had to state the reasons for rejecting it. The remaining questions mainly served the purpose of educational guidance and are therefore not discussed in this thesis.

Participants' choice of art forms as personal preference

Since this study was carried out in 2002, the participants must have experienced the transitional period of the handover of sovereignty. However, no matter how popular this political topic was among the artists in Hong Kong at the time, the participants did not show any preference for artworks with a political message. After many years of colonial education, people in Hong Kong have been trained to have an indifferent attitude towards anything connected to politics.

In this study, no participants expressed a preference for Chinese or local high art. This could reflect the prolonged impact of the suppression of Chinese and local art in past syllabi. The data reveal that participants had a general inclination towards Western art in their favourite artworks (see Appendix III Table 5.7). All choices were of products of Western culture, except one from Japanese culture. The participants did not show any interest in British art. This is perhaps owing to the absence of British art content in past school curricula.

Participants' orientation towards modern aesthetics

The pilot study for this research revealed that the participants' ability to understand and analyse the categories of art I presented them with was weak. As mentioned previously, these questionnaires served the dual purpose of data collection and teaching. Therefore, in this questionnaire some questions were structured to guide them in learning these skills.

Data obtained from this questionnaire reflected participants' attitudes towards elements of modernism such as formal qualities, originality, authenticity, autonomy, disinterestedness and taste (as related to high and low art). In addition to these themes

their discussion suggests that they valued artworks if they were associated with their identity or their childhood, or if they were commercial art.

The data presented in Table 5.8 (see Appendix III) reveal the way participants analysed the formal qualities of their preferred artwork. They did not have a particular preference for abstract art, although this type of art was emphasised in modern culture from the 1950s until the 1990s in Hong Kong. In fact, all the works selected were figurative. This is in contrast to the attitude of Fry (1920/1981: 8), who rejects the idea that 'representations' could have some aesthetic value.

All the participants claimed that the artworks they selected had a simple form. However, from their responses I deduced that often they did not understand notions such as simplicity of form. Participants indicated less demand for 'new and unusual form' (3/8) than for traditional form (5/8), showing that they did not adhere strongly to the demand of modernist aesthetics to break with tradition. Moreover, most participants (5/8) did not perceive the form of their selected artworks as reflecting their function. This is in contrast with the widely accepted modern design philosophy, 'forms follow function', advocated by the architect, Louis Sullivan.

In response to another question, some participants seemed to dwell on 'formal quality' (6/8). Others were looking for quality of colour, line and form, while some were concerned with 'simple structure' and 'systematic organisation', as well as 'creative' or 'uncommon work' (see Appendix III Tables 5.9A and 5.9B), which complies with modern aesthetics: for instance, the emphasis on design principles and formalism itself promoted by the Bauhaus; the idea of 'less is more' advocated by the architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe; the need to break new ground, called 'new aesthetic consciousness' by Jurgen Habermas (1983: 5).

A participant's preference based on modern aesthetics and concern about the meaning conveyed by an artwork

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Carmen indicated that she preferred an artwork which she called an 'Art Card'. It was an anonymous painting showing a woman being chased by a man. Both figures were portrayed in simple geometric forms with thick outlines and the background was divided into sections by curved lines. Each area was decorated by linear or dot patterns or other motifs. In style it has a similar visual effect to that produced by the painting *Girl before a Mirror* by Pablo Picasso, 1932. The Other member of this group, Irene, regarded it as 'superficial, playful, too much like a cartoon, with no focus on texture and an absence of historical and cultural context'. To me, the painting itself appears to be a hybrid of modern and postmodern characteristics - a mixture of simplified and cartoonistic forms, with decorations. Irene's opinions were quite contradictory. On the one hand, she rejected pop art qualities such as cartoonistic and

‘playful’, which are encouraged in postmodern culture (Freedman, 2003: 97). On the other hand, she demanded the presence of a social and historical context in the picture. Such contexts in modern paintings were criticised by formalist critics. Since both movements originated in the West, it can be said that she has adopted Western thought.

Carmen indicated that it was the subject matter - ‘love’ - that had attracted her attention. Carmen’s identity as a young person seems to have dominated her appreciation of the work.

Data reveal that the determining factor for participants’ preferences for artworks seem to be closely related to the meaning they associated with them. There are two principal meanings involved: one is the symbolic meaning inherent in the subject matter or content of the paintings; the other is related to personal affective experience. Most of the participants (7/8) expressed interest in the meaning embedded in the artworks. Half of them (4/8) indicated the involvement of special personal experience in making their selection. A few of them (2/8) stated that the artworks reminded them of childhood experiences; one indicated that it represented friendship, and another said that her interest in Egypt had influenced her decision to select a souvenir item from this country. All these reasons are considered irrelevant under the art for art’s sake doctrine of the modernist which is related to autonomy, a key value in modernist philosophy. To secure autonomy, art should be separated from the praxis of life (Burger, 1992/2003). This led to the modernist development into abstract art, which focuses on formal quality rather than on meanings derived from its subject matter. However, the artistic preferences indicated by the participants in this study displayed a strong tie to the meaning associated with the artwork, involving either personal affection or interpersonal relationships. This conflicts with the ‘disinterestedness’

which Fry (1920/1981: 8), claimed was necessary to the appreciation of a work of art mentioned in Chapter Two.

Participants' responses to 'high art' and 'popular art'

It appears from Table 5.10 (see Appendix III) that most of the participants in this study preferred popular art (one member from each pair). Most contrasted popular art with high art (1/2) and with folk art (3/8). They were aware of the high social status attached to 'high art' and the relatively inferior position they accorded themselves. This is in line with the argument of most scholars discussed below.

Concepts of 'high art'

The term 'high art' has been used by many scholars, in particular by critics of modernism, to present a contrast with popular culture and in describing a high and low relationship between the two art forms (Edwards, 1999: 17; Bullock & Trombley, 1999: 506; Dormer, 1997: 19; Harrison & Wood, 1992/1996: 683; West, 1996: 718). 'High art' is considered to be an outcome of 'elitist activities' (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005: 277; Edwards, 1999: 296). This concept is arrived at when people perceive something as difficult to understand (Edwards, 1999: 296). The concept of 'high art' was reinforced in the 1940s by Clement Greenberg, (1986 [first published in 1939]: 5-22), who wrote an essay entitled 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch'. In this article, Greenberg used the German term 'kitsch' to describe popular, commercial art and artefacts that were mechanically produced (*ibid.*: 11-12). Greenberg believed that the popularity of kitsch was merely the effect of conditioning (*ibid.*: 15). He presumed that the majority, that is, the masses, who favoured 'kitsch' were 'ignorant' while the minority, that is, the

avant-garde, possessed the necessary taste to 'cultivate' these people with 'formal culture' (*ibid.*: 17). For Williams (1981/1986: 130), 'The distinctions between art and non-art, or between aesthetic and other intentions and responses... are seen... as predominant or subordinate'. The masses, considered as the Other by modernists, were marginalised by a 'conscious strategy of exclusion' (Edwards, 1999: 222). In addition, Maltby (1994: 13) points out that middle-class women, who appeared as a newly emerging consumer class after the Industrial Revolution, remained in an even more inferior position.

Further information regarding the participants' views on 'high art' was obtained from a discussion involving one of the groups. For example,

Joe: Are artworks produced by famous artists called 'high' art?

Lily: Yes.

Joe: ... because I do not possess such skill.

Lily: Can it be called 'high' art if it is too 'high'?

I think the above remarks indicate Joe's sense of inferiority in his reluctance to associate his own skills with 'high art'. On the other hand, Lily seemed to feel uneasy about the ability required to produce or understand 'high art'. This also highlights the question of how art should be defined if it is too difficult to be understood by people, or if the standard required to produce it is too advanced to be achieved. In fact, on the questionnaire, the participants Joe and Helen indicated that they did not understand what the artworks meant. This reveals that the polarisation of 'high' and 'low' cultures and its impact on people still exists.

Participants' preference for Western high art

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Three participants selected Western high art as their preference. The works included *The Arnolfini Marriage*, *Café Terrace in Arles*, and *Raphaelesque Head Exploding*. The former two artworks had been taught in the *Introduction to Art* module a year before this research was carried out. The selection of these works may therefore be seen as a way of adapting to the dominant culture imposed by the teacher researcher. This indicates that the participants' choices were largely influenced by their teachers and past experience. The participants stated that they were 'familiar with it' and '... guided to like it'. These remarks suggest their wish to comply with the teacher's taste, that is, an inclination towards Western high art in order to gain recognition of their academic achievement. Alternatively, participants may have regarded it as easier to comply with the teacher's request by bringing in samples from a previous lesson. This could be considered as an example of the 'tactics of the weak' (a term used by Fiske (1989b: 33) in analysing de Certeau's concept of tactics; or '[ways]

of using imposed systems... as “trickery”... in the way one uses or cheats with the terms of social contracts’ (de Certeau, 1984: 18); or as a form of adaptation in the power struggle with the dominant culture. Bourdieu (1990: 130-131) conceptualises the social condition of the dominated and dominant in this way:

... the dispositions of agents, their habitus, that is, the mental structures through which they apprehend the social world, are essentially the product of an internalization of the structures of the social world. As perceptual dispositions tend to be adjusted to position, agents, even the most disadvantaged, tend to perceive the world as natural and to find it much more acceptable than one might imagine, especially when one looks at the situation of the dominated through the social eyes of the dominant...

Thus, the habitus implies a ‘sense of one’s place’ but also a ‘sense of the Other’s place’.

A work by Salvador Dali (picture shown above) was selected by Ivy as her favourite artwork. However, she mistakenly put *Fried Eggs on the Plate without the Plate* as its title. Its correct title is *Raphaelesque Head Exploding*. Moreover, many of her descriptions of the work are ill-informed from the point of view of aesthetic analysis. Here are her descriptions:

abstract, simple form, traditional form, no ornament, academic type of work, colourful, with tonal effect, interesting texture, contrast, three-dimensional structure, unbalanced spatial relationship but with focal point, and linear (the underlined items are those which I question).

I think it is incorrect to term the surrealistic *Raphaelesque Head Exploding* ‘abstract art’. According to Dawtrey (1996: 173), ‘abstract art does not represent things from the visible, three-dimensional world around us (or for that matter, from our imagination)’. In some art movements ‘painters do indeed represent the physical world but use methods which ‘abstract’ the objects they depict’. Perhaps Ivy interpreted ‘abstract art’ in another way. Besides, she seemed to interpret the visual illusion of depth in the

painting as ‘three-dimensional structure’, rather than the physical volume I refer to in the design of the questionnaire.

In the ‘spontaneous theory of art perception’, Bourdieu (1993/1995: 217) conceptualises two kinds of people: firstly, there are the educated people who are perceived as possessing ‘class-centrism’. Since they are so familiar with scholarly culture, their way of perceiving becomes natural. As a consequence they ‘do not see that which enables them to see’. Secondly, owing to the limited ‘deciphering capabilities’ caused by the ‘disorientation and cultural blindness of the less-educated beholders’, they cannot ‘decode’ information and meanings from artworks or ‘reduce them to an intelligible form’. Ivy’s response to Dali’s artwork seems to fall into the second category. Bourdieu points out that school learning tends to nurture admiration of works ‘approved by the school’. Thus, certain classes of work seem to become linked to a certain educational and social status (*ibid.*: 230). Hence, schools ‘could offset the initial disadvantage’ of a person by turning him or her into ‘an educated person’ who could master ‘the code of works of scholarly culture’ (*ibid.*: 233).

The post-structuralist, Michel Foucault (1980 [first published in 1972]: 132), argues that ‘the intellectual is not the “bearer of universal values”’. Rather, it is the person occupying a specific position - but whose specificity is linked, in a society like ours, to the general functioning of an apparatus of truth’. The intellectual has specificity of ‘class position’, of ‘conditions of life and work, linked to his condition as an intellectual’, and ‘the specificity of the politics of truth in our societies’. Hence, there are ‘specific effects of power attached to the true’.

A participant's selection of an item of popular culture as her aesthetic preference

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The glass bottle shown above was selected by Tammy as her preferred artwork. The bottle is factory-made and decorated with hand-painted fish and plants. Reasons for her preference include:

It is functional/has multiple functions; it holds a special meaning for me because it is associated with my friendship; and all my friends like it/my friends also own these items.

This selection reveals an example of the social factors influencing the appreciation of an artwork at a personal level. It appears to offer a challenge to the view of the modernists that no personal interest should be involved in the appreciation of an artwork. It also addresses the issue of whether a commodity can be called art. Her identification of giftware seems to be a symbol of resistance to dominant culture. The common negative attitude towards giftware was supplied by the Other member of this group, Christina. She described it as 'too common, not exciting, too ordinary, too small and too old'. This type of work is regarded by Greenberg (1939/1986: 5-22) as 'kitsch', as

previously discussed. He presumed that those who prefer kitsch belong to the 'ignorant' masses. It therefore seems pertinent here to discuss the concept of mass culture and related issues.

Concepts of mass culture

The term 'the masses' encompasses several meanings: 'the large numbers', 'the mode adopted (manipulative or popular); the assumed taste (vulgar or ordinary); and the resulting relationship (*alienated and abstract or a new kind of social communication*) [original emphasis]' (Williams, 1976/1981: 162). The masses are usually described as 'low, ignorant, unstable' (*ibid.*: 1, 161). According to Williams, high art was used as a mode of alienating and controlling the working class (*ibid.*: 163). However, Edwards observes that since this 'separation from the culture of everyday life' was demolished thirty years ago, and 'traditional bourgeois high culture ... [has been] increasingly transformed into modern commercial mass culture' (Edwards, 1999: 222, 223), the world of art has thus become more inclusive (Meecham & Sheldon, 2005).

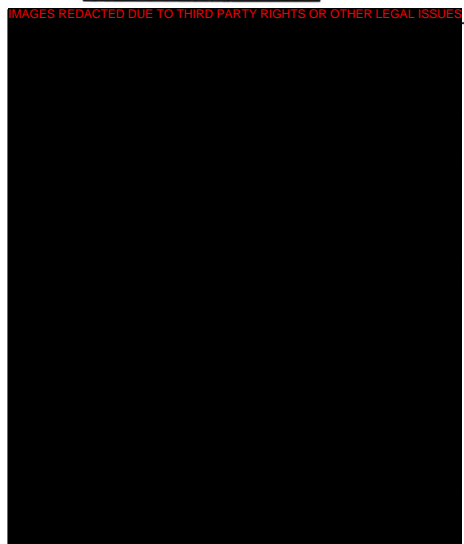
In the past, the masses were regarded as 'passive conformists' who were 'morally corrupting' (Maltby, 1994: 13). However, many contemporary scholars, such as Fiske (1989b: 23), Bullock and Trombley (1999: 506), reject the idea that working-class people are passive recipients of mass culture. These scholars now believe that people are capable both of resisting and of making use of it.

The tactics used by Tammy to resist dominant values lie in the personal micro-level of meaning she associated with the object in contrast to the macro, universal values held by Westerners and the teacher researcher as an agent of the West. Perhaps the Other member of this group, Christina, made explicit Tammy's stance, which she supported:

This kind of artwork should continue to exist because everybody has different values. Tammy is looking for justification of her attachment to personal meaning in her choice of aesthetic preference. As Hickey (1997: 95) argues,

We seek objects that declare what groups we identify with or how we are different from others. Gifts are meant to strengthen relationships and reflect the identity of both the giver and the recipient.

A participant's selection of a tourist souvenir as a symbol of resistance to the dominant culture

<p>IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES</p> 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="699 786 1018 1328"> <p>This painting on papyrus was presented by Joanna, a participant, as her preference in art.</p> </td><td data-bbox="1018 786 1458 1328"> <p>Akhenaten, Worshipping the Aten, Papyrus, contemporary tourist art. The subject matter is appropriated from a relief of an Egyptian balustrade fragment².</p> </td></tr> </table>	<p>This painting on papyrus was presented by Joanna, a participant, as her preference in art.</p>	<p>Akhenaten, Worshipping the Aten, Papyrus, contemporary tourist art. The subject matter is appropriated from a relief of an Egyptian balustrade fragment².</p>
<p>This painting on papyrus was presented by Joanna, a participant, as her preference in art.</p>	<p>Akhenaten, Worshipping the Aten, Papyrus, contemporary tourist art. The subject matter is appropriated from a relief of an Egyptian balustrade fragment².</p>		

I think when Joanna identified this painting on papyrus (a commodity referred to as 'kitsch' by Greenberg (1939/1986: 11-12)) as her aesthetic preference, she might have been aware that it might not be considered appropriate to call it art in the strict sense. To justify her decision she kept reminding the teacher researcher of its relationship with Egypt:

It symbolises traditional religious art in Egypt; there is a sense of mystery in Egyptian culture; its sense of culture would not decrease over time; I like Egypt (both the place and its art).

² The image was appropriated from the decorated balustrade fragment, Amarna, Great Palace, Reign of Akhenaten, 1353–1336 BC. Crystalline limestone. Egyptian Museum, Cairo^{w7}.

The repeated mentioning of 'Egypt' in her answers appears to be a justification of commercial tourist art. It seems to be a tactic for resisting the modernist rejection of artefacts made by appropriating images from traditional cultures. By relating it to art history (Egyptian art is taught in Art History lessons) or the academic world, she attempts to legitimise tourist art as art. For tourist art, the relationship between the objects and the location is crucial. The objects serve as a reminder of the experience of a particular place, that is, its heritage. Personal taste is involved in a buyer's selection. Joanna wished to tell us that she or her friend had visited Egypt, a place of ancient human civilisation with a recognised historical art which is widely taught in schools. This artefact appears to be a marker of her identity. To ensure its tie with Egypt in place and tradition, the advertisement for this artefact emphasises the fact that it is 'hand-painted by an Egyptian artist on genuine papyrus'^{w8} and thus a sense of Egyptian-ness is maintained. However, the appropriation of images from ancient Egypt contradicts modern aesthetics and its demands for originality and authenticity. It makes this work marginal in the category of art. Susan Pearce (1995/2003: 326) criticises the 'culture forms' defined 'within the European cultural system' as always made 'through a series of Inside: Outside relationships'. While classical art is always described as 'authentic masterpieces' and as possessing 'genuine' 'intellectual qualities', 'kitsch pieces' are seen as spurious ordinary things. The politics of values are thus underpinned.

There are controversial issues involved in appreciating this artefact. The Other of this pair, Yvonne, described it in the following way:

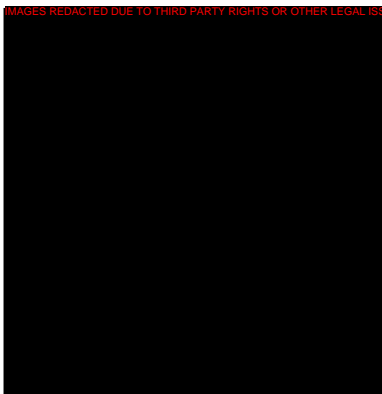
simple structure; too common; for ordinary people; absence of a sense of nobility/ elegance; and lack of systematic organisation.

The concept of 'nobility' is involved in 'high art' as mentioned by Ad Reinhardt (1913-1967) (1996 [first published in 1962]: 807). He states that

The one idea of art as 'fine,' 'high,' 'noble,' 'liberal,' 'ideal' of the seventeenth century is to separate fine and intellectual art from manual art and craft.

Above all, Yvonne stated that the reason for accepting this type of work as art is that 'The field of art is enormous. It [includes] everything'. This implies her desire for openness in our attitudes towards art.

A participant's selection of a popular cartoon and childhood companion as a symbol of resistance to the dominant culture:



This P.C. [Pochacco]^{w9} dog was chosen by Cecilia as her favourite artwork. It is a three-dimensional box made in the shape of a carrot. On the side of the box there is a plate with the inscription 'The Yorimichi Dog' (early name of Pochacco) on it. Pochacco is a dog, a cartoon character created by the Japanese Sanrio Corporation. This artwork features Pochacco sitting on the lawn, which is also the lid of the box. A rabbit, a mouse and a tortoise are pulling along a big carrot with a duck at the side. This is a common scene shown in children's story books. The responses given by the

Other of this group, Laura, were that the object was

too childish/naive; it is a toy; [it is] not aesthetically beautiful; the forms are not desirable and [it has] no distinguishing quality.

She rejected it as an artwork because she thought that it would affect other people's opinions on what true art should be. Her perspective regarding children's preferences for popular cartoons is quite common among teachers and the general public in Hong Kong in the early twenty-first century. Besides a focus on formalism, modern aesthetics are also concerned about changes in terms of time and there is a celebration of the 'present' (Habermas, 1983: 5). In order to resist this dominant view, the participant, Cecilia, withdrew from the present and returned to the world of the past, that is, her childhood, when she was allowed to have fantasies. Cecilia wrote,

[It represents] the authenticity of a child: it makes me feel as though I [live] in a miniature world... When I was a child I thought it was cute.

Cecilia also stated,

It has been with me while I have been studying for the past ten years, although it has been damaged... In the future I will still like it because it reminds me of my past.

This reflects what Donald Kuspit, an art critic, claims regarding toys: 'children use toys to make the transition from subjectivity to objectivity', whereas the adult uses 'the toy of the work of art to make the transition back to the interior reality he or she tends to forget in his or her dealings with exterior reality'. The intimate experience addresses 'the tension between private and public life' (Ramljak, 2004: 187).

Cecilia's statements indicate her rejection of the demand for disinterestedness in appreciating art. She refused to distance herself from her own personal and past

experience in making her judgement about art. She rejected most of the aesthetic values of the modernists. In contrast to the view of the Other, she thought that 'its form is unusual'. She described this cartoon piece as

a three-dimensional structure; [it is] representational; simple; new and unusual form with decorations; lovely and cartoonistic, colourful, with interesting texture, and harmonious.

This liking for cartoons is common among girls in Hong Kong and they are popular among young people generally. Cecilia's intimate relationship with objects seems to have provided her with psychological and physical rewards. Ramljak (2004: 190) suggests that 'Objects or experiences that strengthen our bond with ourselves can ... play a part in fortifying us against outside influence and offense'.

Concepts of popular art and popular culture

The term 'popular art' as used in Hong Kong refers to all artworks popular among people. Most of these are contemporary artworks or art products. It appears as a general term which refers to the popularity of an artwork. However, this term is frequently used to describe those paintings which mainly featured the 'old values' of American life and the impact of the 'changing world', produced by the American artist, Norman Rockwell^{W10}.

The issue of popular culture has always been a site of conflict. According to Williams (1976/1981: 199), the early meaning of the word 'popular' is 'belonging to the people'. From the eighteenth century onwards, popular culture became associated with the sense of something which was 'widely favoured', but also with a sense of inferiority. Popular culture was seen as a kind of 'folklore', an aspect of classicism, the antithesis of the 'learned culture'. From the twentieth century onwards, popular

culture gradually shifted to become connected with commercial consumption and the mass media (Hall, 1981: 230-231). This notion of popular culture was similar to the concept of mass culture which was attacked by Greenberg, as mentioned above. Williams (1976/1981: 199) noticed that by the 1980s, the concept of popular culture had changed to refer to something 'made by people for themselves'.

Hall (1981: 234-235) regards the power relationship between the dominant culture and popular culture as constantly changing. To him, cultural struggles take the form of 'incorporation, distortion, resistance, negotiation, [and] recuperation'. The cultural process in developing the great traditions depends very much on educational and cultural institutions to set its boundary (*ibid.*: 236).

In a similar way to Hall, Fiske (1989b: 23-24) believes popular culture shifts 'in terms of people's felt collectivity' and is formed through a sense of 'shared antagonisms' in a society, produced from within a particular context and time (*ibid.*: 24-25). It emerges as the subordinate members of the society begin to want to exercise 'control over the meanings of their lives'. They use tactics 'within and against the system' in order to improve themselves, rather than 'changing the system' (Fiske, 1989a/1990: 10-11). I observed that the participants used many tactics in responding to this questionnaire; it is therefore necessary to investigate the concepts which lie behind the strategies and tactics employed when analysing popular culture.

Michel de Certeau (1984/1988: 35-36) claims that there are strategies and tactics used by both dominant and subordinate members of a society in the system of power struggles. In his opinion, a strategy is employed by 'a subject with will and power' and an occupied 'place', on the basis of which power relationships can be calculated or manipulated, and hence be made manageable. Strategies are used in association with

the determination of what is 'proper'; through mastering 'place over time'; controlling 'places through sight' and which are 'legitimate to define the power of knowledge'. In the context of my research, for example, I have made use of various strategies to stimulate participants' thought about their identities.

By contrast, 'a tactic is an art of the weak', with an absence of power, its own places or an holistic view. It operates in the 'space of the Other'. Tactics are calculated, but are only isolated actions which make a clever use of time (de Certeau, 1984/1988: 36-39). 'Popular' tactics are used to change the 'actual order of things' (*ibid.*: 26), especially addressing social meanings which are relevant to everyday life but not preferred by the dominant members of society. The tactics take the form of either 'resistance or evasion', the achievement of which generates 'popular pleasure', and meanings produced are usually diverse, 'superficial', 'tasteless and vulgar' (Fiske, 1989a/1990: 2, 6).

In the case of Cecilia, who chose the cartoon figure as her aesthetic preference, her reference to its emotional tie to her childhood identity seems to be a tactic for justifying her preference for popular culture as well as a form of resistance to the dominance of Western high art in the degree course and the anticipated demand of me, the teacher researcher.

A participant's evasion of the dominant aesthetic values through a retreat into
child art

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Handmade wooden model aircraft	Albatros W.4 seaplane-based fighter aircraft ^{W11}
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This wooden model of an aircraft was presented by William as his aesthetic preference. This model is similar to the Albatros seaplane-based fighter aircraft used by the German Admiralty, first produced in 1916 for naval duties along the Baltic and North Sea coasts. Two capsule-like pieces are attached to the lower part to resemble the floats of a seaplane^{W11}. This aircraft model is probably made from a do-it-yourself type of wooden modelling kit with ready-made parts. It was and still is widely used in Hong Kong primary schools.

The model reflects a longstanding problem in primary school art education in Hong Kong, resulting from the enormous number of art teachers who are non-subject-trained (as mentioned previously). The principal excuse for this concerns balance in the workload of teachers, because art is considered to be a 'light-weight' subject which does not involve any written assignments. For untrained art teachers, the use of 'art-kit' packages makes it much easier to teach the subject. Most of them consider art as a skills training subject, and the just-for-fun type of leisure activities are believed to meet the needs of pupils. In fact, the trained art teachers are pressurised by the majority of untrained teachers to reduce the percentage of creative art projects set in

the teaching scheme. This problem existed before the post-colonial period and it persists today even after the implementation of the curriculum reform.

Having been nurtured in such a teaching environment for the past thirteen years, William might have grown used to the values held by non-subject-trained art teachers. It is a common view among people in Hong Kong that making model planes is a boys' activity, so William might have wanted to demonstrate his masculinity through this artefact. He wrote, 'This wooden aircraft reminds me of making model aeroplanes in my childhood'. Again, he seems to return to his childhood in order to resist the dominant modern aesthetic values. The Other member of this group, Charles, presented some of the opposing attitudes towards this art form:

The colour is monotonous; it does not involve aesthetic elements; the form and structure are not outstanding; no characteristics; and a lack of collectable [commercial] value.

The first four of these responses are related to modernist formalism. Charles' concern with the 'commercial value of art' is rejected in modern aesthetics, however. Many of the participants seem to have adopted ideas of the West piecemeal and have also adopted kitsch culture without any theoretical basis and without knowing the critical stances behind it.

The need to interpret different voices in the context of power relationships

When dealing with the power struggles related to the issue of Othering, we have to be cautious not to repeat the same problem. Hence, the antithetical categories of high and low culture should be abandoned. John Frow (1995: 78) criticised the view that the dominant and popular cultures are in a binary antagonistic power relationship because he thinks that by treating subordinates collectively as a generalised Other, the

Other is therefore constructed consistently. Meecham and Sheldon (2005: 7) suggest the need to 'read' works of art according to contexts and measure them against theory/theories of art to get a better understanding of how they alter our concept of 'great artists' and 'masterpieces'. This might lead to 'a broadening of the canon' and 'a collapse of the division between 'high art' and popular culture'. However, they remind us that it might also lead to "indifferencism" - a sense that anything goes and an academic inability to define quality'. They explain that "reading" a work of art is a local, relative and unstable endeavour which will inevitably be revised by other "readers"

On the other hand, Frow (1995: 85) believes that besides striving for 'self-definition', people are also struggling for 'social legitimation'. To him, the dominant power does not originate from the ruling class but from the intelligentsia (*ibid.*: 86). Hence, he proposes that when studying objects from popular culture we must bring into consideration the values involved in determining their different status, as well as the 'practices of everyday culture' and 'practices of analysis' (*ibid.*: 87). Data from this study seem to confirm Frow's theories. Each of the cases described in this chapter reflects a different example of the struggle for social legitimation using different tactics of resistance.

The data obtained from the participants indicate that they had little attachment to Chinese art. Although they were subject to the influence of the dominant values of Western high art, including historical and modern art, there was little evidence to support their claims of a preference for such works. The power relationship that existed between students and teacher had some impact on participants' stated aesthetic preference. Some chose to conform to what they saw as the teacher's expectation.

However, many of them made use of a variety of tactics to resist the dominant values of high art, such as retreating to their childhood experience or insisting on the importance of symbolic meanings associated with their personal experiences. This brings to our attention the perspective of young people on concepts of art. It also expands our understanding of how they connect art with their daily experiences.

The next chapter will investigate participants' perceptions of Others from different nations with particular focus on the issues of stereotyping and post-colonial conditions.

CHAPTER SIX

CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND PARTICIPANTS' CONCEPTION OF THE OTHER

This chapter investigates the perceptions of the Hong Kong participants of their own cultural identities in relation to those of people from other countries. Questionnaires with similar items were given to the people from other countries so that the data could be compared. The foci were important issues related to the art discipline, those issues that are relevant to primary art teaching, and those that are important but generally ignored by teachers. They include the issue of stereotyping, identity politics, interracial relationships, nationalisation and Westernisation in relation to aspects of physical appearance such as skin colour, height, facial features, language, habits and customs, daily clothing and national costumes and festivals. The content of the research instruments was based on ideas taken from cultural theories, such as Orientalism, feminism, colonialism and post-colonialism, and discussions of modernism and postmodernism.

The data indicate that the Hong Kong participants possessed little knowledge about people living in other parts of the world. There were many discrepancies between the Hong Kong participants' knowledge of people from other countries and the information provided by these people. This demonstrates how inaccurate can be any attempt to represent the Other in the absence of any concrete knowledge about the Other. Participants' views of people from other countries varied considerably. Although skin colour and other physical characteristics were some of the factors signifying differences

among different cultural identities, participants perceived cultural aspects as the major factor. Whether they had a positive or a negative stereotype of people from another country was highly dependent on their values regarding that country.

It may seem that the topics discussed in this questionnaire are not related to art. This, however, is not the case. Issues of stereotyping and identity are frequently addressed in postmodern and feminist art. Skin colour and languages are used as icons to represent differences between races. Contemporary art and culture are closely related.

I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND STEREOTYPES

Cultural studies and stereotypes

Edward Said's *Orientalism*, 1978, highlighted the power struggle between East and West and the impact of colonial domination on colonised people. Said showed how a stereotypical image of the 'Orient' was constructed by Europeans. Contemporary discourses extend this idea to post-colonial conditions in non-Western countries. The issue of stereotyping is central to the cultural theories of many scholars (Barker, 2000; Hall, 1997/2001; Lewis, 2002; Loomba, 1998/2005; Perkins, 1979; Pickering, 2001; Stewart et al., 1979).

Chris Barker (2000: 392) presents one of the many interpretations of the concept of stereotyping, describing it as:

vivid but simple representations which reduce persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative, character traits. A form of representation which essentializes others through the operation of power.

Critics of the concept of stereotyping query the accuracy of the 'simple' descriptions contained in stereotypes because these give rise to the potential for conflict and 'heterogeneous information'; they are either too broadly generalised across cultures, allowing no flexibility for change, or they involve prejudice (Stewart et al., 1979: 2, 11). Stewart et al. also believe that stereotypes are subject to 'continuous adjustment according to different circumstances' (*ibid.*: 8). Loomba (1998/2005: 98) observed that power relations persist from the pre-colonial period to the colonial period; however, stereotypes are inconsistent over time.

A more comprehensive definition of a stereotype is provided by Perkins (1979: 145): a stereotype is a concept describing a group, 'held by a group', and believed by individuals selectively. Its structure is simple but 'conceals complexity'. It is 'cognitive', 'evaluative' and 'selective', but usually 'reflects an "inferior judgemental process" [idea borrowed from Fishman (1956)]'. Stewart et al. (1979: 6) argue that 'social stereotyping' is achieved by consensus based on limited information and state that bias might be involved. Since the stereotyping process can alter behaviour and perception, it can affect the class relationships of individuals.

From another perspective, Hall (1997/2001: 257) conceptualises stereotyping in the context of power struggles. He regards stereotyping as a 'signifying practice', because a stereotype is related to the identification of different groups according to 'class, gender, age group, nationality, race, linguistic group, sexual preference and so on'. Hall (*ibid.*: 258) conceives stereotyping as reducing, essentialising and fixing differences. He argues that it 'symbolically fixes boundaries and excludes everything which does not belong', and also points out that 'stereotyping tends to occur where

there are gross inequalities of power’.

It has also been noted that stereotypes are reinforced by socio-economic structures and material conditions (Perkins, 1979: 153), as well as being operated through value systems (*ibid.*: 150). Dominant groups may emphasise the stereotypes of oppressed groups in order to ‘confirm the boundaries of their own legitimate activity’ (*ibid.*: 157) and to confirm that ‘the goods of society’ are also perceived by others as ‘good’ or ‘socially desirable’ (*ibid.*: 158). Perkins’ acknowledgement of the boundary consciousness of the dominant group is a useful way of explaining why stereotypes are constantly changing, as proposed by some contemporary scholars mentioned above.

Difference that matters

Gilman (1985a, 1985b) focuses on the issue of class stereotypes. He argues that the ideological bias of the observers could affect an individual by perpetuating a sense of difference between self and Other. In the context of colonialists and/or racists, the ‘perceived or constructed racial differences’ could also be transformed into real inequalities (Loomba, 1998/2005: 123). In anthropological studies, these differences are translated into ‘specific eating habits, religious beliefs, clothing and social organization’ (*ibid.*: 60). Loomba (*ibid.*: 129) argues that racism has facilitated the global expansion of colonialism, and the inequities of the colonial era have been extended into the contemporary world as global imbalances that are interwoven with economic and racial factors. She proposes adopting a dialectical perspective to study societies through their ‘specific racial ideologies’ and the intersection of these ideologies with ‘the process of class formation’. Similarly, Hall (1997/2001: 234-237)

argues for the importance of difference when studying races:

‘difference’ matters because it is essential to meaning; without it, meaning could not exist... because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the ‘Other’... the marking of ‘difference’ is the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture... the ‘Other’ is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects, and to sexual identity....

In Hall’s opinion, ‘difference’ is both positive in terms of the construction of meanings and identities, and negative in that it may involve ‘aggression towards the “Other”’ (Hall, 1997/2001: 238). In daily life, the consequences of being different deserve our attention because they may lead to being respected or to being discriminated against. Since stereotyping is related to the issue of marginalising the Other, it is therefore necessary to discuss the concept of Other.

Self, identity and Other

Many scholars believe that the definition of self involves a perceived Other (Pearce, 1995/2003; Pickering, 2001). The relationship between self and Other is regulated by the boundary between them (Pickering, 2001). They define each other in terms of both normal and abnormal qualities (Pearce, 1995/2003). Pickering (2001: xi) regards constructions of the Other as similar to stereotyping, but the concept of the Other is constructed within the ‘structure and relation of power’, and its effect is more far-reaching than the mere representation involved in stereotyping. The process of Othering ‘is a collective process of judgement which feeds upon and reinforces powerful social myths’ (*ibid.*: 48), while stereotyping is ‘a process for maintaining and reproducing the norms and conventions of behaviour, identity and value ... since the

norms which are reinforced by stereotyping emanate from established structures of social dominance' (*ibid.*: 5). In a colonial context, 'every colonial person was in some sense, already "Other"'. This is related to the definitions of what constitute normal and abnormal. Group classification is an important construction in a colony (Vaughan, 1991: 10).

II. DATA ANALYSIS: PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON CULTURAL IDENTITIES

Design of the questionnaire

In this thesis, the perceptions of two groups of people of their cultural identities were studied. One of these groups consisted of people of various nationalities from different parts of the world ¹ who were asked to make comparisons between themselves and the people of Hong Kong. The other group was made up of Hong Kong pre-service teachers who were asked to compare themselves with the people specified in the questionnaires.

In the questionnaire for Hong Kong participants (see Appendix II Q3.1), pictures of men and women from particular countries were shown wearing national costume. Different sets of questionnaires containing pictures of people of different nationalities (see Appendix II Q3.3) were distributed to different pairs of participants. Another set of questionnaires with similar topics was distributed to another group of people who

¹ All the participants in this group were people native to different parts of the world, except the ethnic Yi from China, information on whom was provided by a European who had had prolonged experiences with the Yi, since original responses from the Yi would have been difficult to obtain. Responses from Hong Kong participants concerning the Yi might reflect their views on other ethnic groups with the same Chinese nationality.

came from different parts of the world (see Appendix II Q3.2).

In the questionnaire participants were asked to describe their appearance in comparison to the Other people from another country, and to describe their own and the Other people's habits and customs. These questionnaires were distributed to the participants at random. The responses and information provided by the participants from other countries were compared with the corresponding responses given by Hong Kong participants. For the purposes of this thesis, the following analysis will focus only on topics relevant to my research questions. The results from the remaining questions, which only served the educational purpose, will not be discussed here.

Effect of physical appearance on cultural identities

The measurement of equality in terms of physical characteristics, such as 'height, energy, intelligence' and 'colour of skin' has been discussed since the 17th century (Williams, 1976/1983: 119). However, prejudice against Others on these grounds still exists in our society. Attitudes of superiority or subordination according to skin colour, height and other physical characteristics of different races are ever present. Among physical characteristics, colour is a crucial signifier of racial identity. The meaning of racial identities is contextually constructed and is related to other cultural issues, such as gender and class (Loomba, 1998/2005: 122). On the basis of biological assumptions the roles of particular races have been defined by racists, for example, Ernst Renan. Aime Cesaire described Renan's stereotype of the Chinese:

Nature has made a race of workers, the Chinese race, who have wonderful manual dexterity and almost no sense of honour; govern them with justice, levying from them, in

return for the blessing of such a government, an ample allowance for the conquering race, and they will be satisfied; a race of tillers of the soil, the Negro...; a race of masters and soldiers, the European race (Cesaire, 1950, cited in Loomba, 1998/2005: 125-126).

Polarisation between black and white and associated meanings

The first part of the questionnaire investigated the impact of physical appearance on impressions or stereotypes of people from different countries. Factors such as skin colour and height were studied.

‘White identities’ emerged with colonialism, imperialism and nationalism. The concept of ‘white’ was used to distinguish the Europeans as the dominant people among other people of the world (Bonnett, 2000: 17). A system of social hierarchy, with whites/Europeans at the top, was established by European natural scientists such as Charles White (1795) (*ibid.*: 18). This system has influenced perceptions of ethnicity, class and gender. Its effect continues in the present, although military conquest has been replaced by ‘symbols of modernization’ and icons of excellence (*ibid.*: 75). At the same time notions of the racial inferiority of the ‘coloured natives’ were constantly emphasised by scholars such as Marryat, Kingston, Reid, Ballantyne and Henty in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the Victorian period, black Africans were described as being of ‘low intelligence, simple-minded ... violent and lazy’, and as people who ‘required “white” disciplines to become civilized’ (Pickering, 2001: 126-128). Today’s media often feature an impression of ‘black’ Africa where people still live ‘primitive ways of life’ in a developing world. These people are presented as both poor and backward (Cullingford, 2000: 144). ‘Whiteness’ is assumed to be superior in ‘cultural, biological and moral’ aspects and ‘non-white identities’ are

assumed to be 'marginal and inferior'. In Britain, this type of marginalisation is extended to Asians. In light of this, British anti-racists promote a community of resistance against the 'white'. Bonnett (2000: 123, 140-141) insists on the need to engage white people in the anti-racist project to reflect on 'white identities'.

Significance of participants' responses regarding 'skin colour' in relation to inter-racial relationships

According to the data I collected from people of different nationalities, many European participants (5/9) described themselves as 'white'. Some Western participants (3/9) used the term 'lighter' or 'pale pinkish white' instead of 'white'. Some Western participants (3/9) even described themselves as the same as Hong Kong people. A British-born lady who had migrated to South Africa claimed she was 'more brown'. I regard these responses as attempts to resist the colour conflict. Participants from countries where people have a darker skin described themselves in different terms. More African participants (2/3) described themselves as 'black', whereas the British-born Nigerian called herself 'brown'. The Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi participants described themselves as 'darker'. Their responses showed their sensitivity when choosing a colour to describe their identity.

In traditional Chinese colour symbolism, the colour 'yellow'² represents the earth and the supreme power of the Emperor, which in turn represents status and dignity.

² In Chinese geomancy and Daoist philosophy, 'yellow' represents the earth and the centre (Mitchell & Wu, 1998: 13). It is located at the centre of the four directions and has the power to control them. It also balances power with heaven/sky. Owing to its essential qualities, yellow is restricted to being the 'imperial colour'.

The Koreans and the Singaporean described themselves as 'yellow' and 'the same as the Chinese' in Hong Kong. When comparing himself with the Singaporean, the Hong Kong participant used the same descriptor: yellow. Besides, when Chinese identify themselves with people of the same colour (yellow), this means they belong to the same family, and therefore are united in the same culture. Owing to the past influence of China over neighbouring countries, the Chinese consider people from these countries to possess the same cultural origin as themselves.

Data obtained from the Hong Kong participants revealed that they were sensitive about defining themselves in terms of their skin colour. Most (70%) of their responses concerning 'skin colour' indicated that they were 'lighter' than the Others, which included Asians such as the Chinese ethnic minority Yi tribe, Japanese and Indian people; all Africans, Mexicans, as well as Spaniards from Europe. Only one of the Hong Kong participants claimed that she was darker than the Swiss. I think this phenomenon reflects a reluctance to consider themselves as darker than the Others. The perception of 'whiteness' as a standard of beauty has been deeply implanted in the minds of Hong Kong people. Their insistence on having a 'lighter' skin colour might be a way of raising self-esteem and of resisting being marginalised, which is what would happen if they claimed to belong to the coloured, oppressed group.

Bonnett (2000: 10) found that historically the Chinese have described themselves as 'white' to distinguish themselves from 'darker-skinned peoples' such as Persians and Indonesians. The term 'white' was also used to distinguish the scholar, a member of the social elite, from the peasant people. This might explain why the Hong Kong participant identified herself as having 'lighter' skin colour than a member of the Yi

tribe.

The impact of height on self-image and on participants' perceptions of the stereotype of the Other

Most people from the other countries (78.6%) claimed that they were 'taller', or 'slightly taller', or that some people from their country were taller, than people in Hong Kong. No one claimed to be 'shorter'. This reflects the powerful notion that 'being tall' is a significant feature of self-perception. Alternatively, they might have been using me as a reference when comparing their height with that of Hong Kong people, because physically I am shorter than most of the participants from other countries.

This result can be compared with the findings of Wilson (1968), that there is 'a significant relationship between authority status and perceptual height of the stimulus person', as reported by Stewart (1979: 121). In fact, the two factors in my data are in a positive relationship. The claim of 'being taller' appears to have given the participants higher self-esteem or a sense of superiority.

Among the participants from different nations, all the males stated that they were taller than Hong Kong people. Only 33.3% of the females claimed that they were taller; 16.7% of them gave their height as 'similar'. The other females gave alternative answers such as 'maybe'; 'slightly taller but not much'; 'relatively taller'; 'I am not sure'; 'I can't generalise'; 'taller in Northern Italy and shorter in Southern Italy'; and 'I am considered short in Switzerland but average in Hong Kong'. These remarks show a difference between the perceptions of males and females of relatively similar height (see Appendix III Table 6.2). It is widely believed among Western people that a man

should be taller than a woman in order to be a perfect mate, hence in considering their own image men might be more conscious of being taller (Stewart et al., 1979: 121).

The data reveal that more Hong Kong participants (60%) stated that they were 'shorter' than other Asians, Africans, Americans or Europeans. This is different from the responses of the people from the other countries who all claimed to be taller than the Hong Kong people. This phenomenon might reflect the impression of Hong Kong participants that the Others were generally taller than they were, or they might have felt themselves to be inferior to the people they referred to. From the perspective of gender, since most of the Hong Kong participants (90%) were females, the result might also reflect the fulfilment of gender stereotypes mentioned above; that is, women should be shorter in order to match the height expectations of men. And perhaps there might be 'real' variations across cultures in terms of height. The Hong Kong participants identified themselves as similar to the Japanese, Indian and Greek in terms of height, but taller than a member of the Chinese Yi tribe. This reflects the Hong Kong participants' sense of distinction from the Yi, who have the same Chinese nationality.

Sensitivity to the issues of skin colour and height is exemplified in the remarks given by the Mexican participant:

I don't feel comfortable with these two questions. [I can tell you something about my country from my own point of view]: I am a 29-year-old, single woman, doing a PhD in London, urban 'middle class'. Representations of national identities are contoured by [the] subject[s] position, and do not give full accounts (female Mexican) (emphasis in the original).

She explicitly voiced her unwillingness to answer these questions and supplied excessive information on other aspects of her biography. This is perhaps an attempt to

resist stereotyping, which she suspected that this survey might lead to.

Participants' perceptions of stereotypes involving facial features

The facial features to which the Hong Kong participants most commonly referred were: the shape of their face, either round, long or pointed; whether they wore spectacles; size and shape of the eyes, nose and mouth; and skin colour. Two females emphasised that they were 'well-formed' or 'good-looking'. In my experience, the terms 'well-formed' or 'good-looking' often appear in job advertisements in Hong Kong. They represent a norm required by employers in Hong Kong and a social stereotype of the appearance of employees. Since the participants were pre-service teachers, it is understandable that their responses were oriented towards eventual employment. This finding supports Stewart's statement that 'physical appearance' is 'the most important factor in social interactions' (Stewart et al., 1979: 120).

Students wearing spectacles are common in Hong Kong. The wearing of glasses is used in the media to symbolise a diligent learner, an educated person, or someone with manners. These are also attributes which are desirable in a teacher and which are therefore worth mentioning to others.

Most of the Hong Kong participants demonstrated an attempt to distinguish themselves from the people they were being compared with. Two of the Hong Kong participants described their own hairstyle (when comparing themselves to the Yi and the Japanese); 'do not wear any headscarf or hats' (compared with the Mexican wearing headgear shown in the questionnaire); either with long (50%) hair or short (20%), brown (20%) or black (30%) in colour.

The impact of language on participants' perception of cultural identities

According to the study by Cedric Cullingford (2000: 166-167), children consider 'foreignness' as defined by the use of a different language. To children, it is languages that mark their identity rather than 'physical appearance'. Language is crucial because friendships can be made through talking. Conversely, it can become a barrier to communication when understanding between two people is cut off. Children are deeply concerned with 'being able to understand' and 'being understood'. The 'isolated' feeling arising from the inability to communicate would affect their sense of 'familiarity, security and inner safety' (*ibid.*: 180-182).

When the Hong Kong participant, Joe, was asked which languages a member of the Yi would use to communicate with him, he did not even bother to hazard a guess as to whether the Yi could speak putonghua or not. Cullingford (2000) opined that language is more than just a classification system; it represents a dialogue. In this case, the willingness of Joe to enter into a dialogue with someone from the Yi is in question. The response of the Hong Kong participant, Joanna, to the Japanese was very different. She said that she would speak Japanese and English in their communication (after the survey Joanna told me that she does not know Japanese). Perhaps what Joanna was indicating here was her willingness to learn Japanese in order to communicate. According to Cullingford (2000), learning other languages is perceived to be a real challenge and a threat in children. The desire to learn a language to communicate with people from other countries is a sign of friendship. In another case, the Hong Kong participant, Christina, indicated that she would attempt to use putonghua and English, assisted by some body language, to communicate with the Singaporean. This might

also symbolise her desire to establish friendship with someone from this country. On the other hand, the Hong Kong participant, Irene, stated that she would speak English to the Mexican. The Hong Kong participant, William, imagined that the Mexican would speak Cantonese in response. This indicates that William might wish the Others to learn his language and become part of his society. Similar responses were made with regard to the Indian and the Spaniard. Cullingford (2000) emphasised the fact that children appreciated others speaking the same language. It is a sign of friendliness. The response of the native South African participant showed the common psychological reaction of people when facing a stranger, and demonstrated the fact that communication in the same language might release the tension:

...Before a stranger you would be much more careful, but if they spoke your language you would warm to them much more easily (female South African).

The overall responses showed that the Hong Kong participants had limited knowledge of the languages used by people outside Hong Kong. They were aware that Japanese, Spanish and Indian people had their own national languages but the Hong Kong participants had no idea about them. In fact, the use of a particular language in a country indicates its relationship with other countries and its historical development.

In Hong Kong, the majority speak the Cantonese dialect. This reflects the dominance of the Cantonese ethnic group over other groups such as Hakka, Hoklo, Shantou (Swatow), Chaozhou (Chiu Chow) and Xiamen (Amoy). Putonghua was introduced to the school curriculum in the academic year leading up to 1997. The establishment of putonghua as the official language of Hong Kong and the growing popularity of using it in the media are evidences of the exercise of Chinese national

linguistic control over post-colonial Hong Kong. Under British governance English was considered the only official language in Hong Kong. In the post-colonial period English is still considered to be superior to Chinese. Recently, local English teachers have been required to pass the English Benchmark test. The same applies to the other prestige language: putonghua. The test is an obstacle to local teachers, but to pass it is a mark of success in their teaching career. The use of languages in Hong Kong is a document of its colonial past; a history of wars and human mobilisation; a record of ethnographic development; and a symbol of the return of sovereignty to China.

The insistence on using different terms for the same language, such as ‘Mandarin’ for the Chinese spoken in Taiwan and putonghua for the language spoken on the mainland, symbolises the unresolved conflict between the two political parties which govern the two nations. In Taiwan, the Taiwanese also speak the Taiwanese or ‘Minnan’ dialect. This local identity is very much emphasised by the Taiwanese to distinguish themselves from Chinese immigrants from mainland China and has become a central issue in identity conflicts. In Hong Kong we now use the term putonghua owing to its affiliation with the mainland.

Pickering (2001: 97) opined that the differentiation of languages by nations was a result of struggles over ‘ways of living, seeing and thinking’. It involves the power exercised by the dominant group and the assertion of territorial boundaries. The imposition of a national language means the suppression or sidelining of other languages. It is a form of ‘linguistic authoritarianism’. This is a common characteristic of nationalism.

According to the Singaporean participant, the diversity of languages spoken in

Singapore, which include 'Cantonese, Mandarin and Hokkien; Singlish; and Malay and Tamil', reflects the multicultural nature of its population. The same situation applies in Ghana, Spain and Canada. The following information given by the South African participant provides some insight into the context of languages used in countries other than Hong Kong:

Language used in South Africa:

English is the most generally used official language, but there are about seven different native African languages that count as official (they were established after the 1994 election when the country was re-divided into nine provinces). In our household we speak Afrikaans, a language that is similar to Dutch, but also has some English, German, French and a little Portuguese mixed in. It originated in the 17th century as a result of all the different nationalities of European immigrants (female South African).

The language used in a country reflects its ethnic composition and its historical development. The people in some regions of mainland China, like the Yi people, speak the 'Nosu' language, which has a Tibeto-Burmese origin. Ethnic groups in Vietnam use their mother languages in informal conversation and Nigerians also elect to use their dialect, Ibo. The use of English, French and Spanish in some countries reflects their colonial past. Participants' countries which use English as their second language are: Hong Kong, Singapore, India and Sri Lanka; countries where Spanish is the official language are Mexico and Peru; and in Chad, French is used as the second language. Thus, in these countries, although the colonisers have departed, their influence in terms of language is deep and lasting.

This situation is examined by Hall, who regards identity as situated within historical developments and practices 'in relation to the process of globalization' and the

process of development into the post-colonial world as a result of free migration:

...actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves (Hall & du Gay, 1997: 4).

Participants' perceptions of cultural identities and social stereotypes

Concepts of a nation

Some people believe that there are unique qualities which distinguish nations from each other and that there is a 'collective we' that people from each nation identify with (Pickering, 2001: 88). For something to be called 'national' there should be some shared elements among different groups in the nation, either in terms of historical origins, ancestry, language, territory or source of community, that can unite the members of the community to achieve common goals and purposes (*ibid.*: 102).

However, the concept of a 'stable and continuous, singular, homogeneous and unitary' identity (Pickering, 2001: 96) and a homogeneous society is considered problematic by Pickering. He insists that 'nationalism is a diverse, multifaceted phenomenon, and cannot be reduced to a sole dominant factor' (*ibid.*: 88). National identity is regarded as 'continually changing and adapting according to historical circumstances' (*ibid.*: 105). In the course of differentiation, the marking of 'us' and 'them' involves the construction of stereotypes. This has initiated a discourse of belonging and not belonging. In the name of 'our' nationality, 'negative stereotypes of foreigners or outgroups are thus developed' (*ibid.*: 90). In the process of achieving unification, other 'local and regional attachments' are suppressed (*ibid.*: 86) and 'aliens'

become intolerable (*ibid.*: 102). Hence, national identities are created by reducing the differences within nations while at the same time insisting on differences by drawing contrasts with other nations (*ibid.*: 89). A similar idea was expressed by Ernest Gellner (1983: 7), who regards a nation as a symbolic community with a cultural ideal to motivate members of the nation-state to unify and identify with the national culture in a way of life.

Cullingford (2000) emphasises the fact that familiarity with the way of life is important to the perception of individuals in this regard. The 'sense of ordinariness' signifies the cultural values one accepts (*ibid.*: 148). To identify with others is a cultural matter. It reflects an emotional tie according to an individual's perceived need for belonging in different contexts. It involves having impressions of others as well as a perception of one's interpersonal relationship with them.

Poppe (1999: 3-4) suggests that people's perceptions of Others are influenced by 'ingroup favouritism'. For example, people from industrialised countries are perceived as efficient and hardworking; those from allied states are 'friendly and cooperative', 'while nationalities from economically underdeveloped countries are perceived as lazy and dependent and those from countries with whom the perceiver's country is in conflict as aggressive and dominant'. Poppe also referred to the 'transposition of realistic features' hypothesis, put forward by Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994). The low status group members may employ the 'compensatory strategy', as a consequence of which the 'outgroup superiority on an economic status-related dimension' is acknowledged. The high regard of the Hong Kong participant for the Japanese might be a result of this.

Participants' perceptions of habits and customs

There is a popular saying that Asians can be easily identified as they are rice eaters. According to the data shown in Table 6.3 (see Appendix III), all people from Asian countries mentioned 'rice' as a kind of food they eat. Yet many people from other regions, including the Nigerian, the Canadian, the Peruvian and the Spaniard, also mentioned the habit of eating rice as part of their daily diet. 'Soup' was mentioned by most of those Asians who had historical Chinese cultural influence, such as the Singaporean, Korean, Taiwanese, Vietnamese and a Hong Kong participant. It seems that there are common elements among Asians. Simply describing the general similarities among nations could not really reflect the complexity of culture within and among nations. The list of food provided by the Singaporean, for example, might illustrate this point:

Hainanese chicken with rice; Hokkien shrimp with noodle[s]; Malay laksa (noodle[s] in a hot spicy soup); Indian tandoori chicken with saffron rice; and Indian roti prata ([a] fluffy pancake eaten with curry) (male Singaporean).

Hainan and Hokkien are two provinces of mainland China. Immigrants from these regions are common in Singapore. Malays and Indians also constitute a large proportion of the population of Singapore. Besides languages, as mentioned above, the variety of dishes demonstrates the multicultural nature of this country and its relationship with Chinese culture.

The Sri Lankan mentioned three kinds of dishes cooked with curry: for example, 'fish-curry, vegetable-curry and meat-curry', which are related to the curry mentioned by the Indian. 'Lentils' were mentioned by the Indian and Bangladeshi participants,

showing a link between these two countries. 'Curry' was also mentioned by the British participant, showing either the impact of Indian migration to the country or the effect of globalisation. This phenomenon confirms Hall's assertion that 'It is hard to think of 'Indian cooking' as something distinctive of the ethnic traditions of the Asian sub-continent when there is an Indian restaurant in the centre of every city and town in Britain' (Hall, 1992: 302). The same might be said of the rice eating habit in Canada under the influence of Chinese migration. Cooking and eating habits around the world are being continuously modified as a result of globalisation. Cultures have become hybridised.

Hall (1999/2005: 36) extends the discussion of the nation-state and national culture to the effect of globalisation in establishing a 'new transnational global order'. 'Globalisation pushes nation-states towards supranational integration - economic, and more reluctantly, political and cultural'. In Hall's opinion, the mass migrations as part of the globalisation process have made the modern nation-state "'multicultural" - "mixed" ethnically, religiously, culturally, linguistically' hybrid (*ibid.*: 38). It is common for people to belong to several 'imagined communities' and require negotiations across 'borderlines' in contemporary life (*ibid.*: 41), and 'the capacity to live with difference' is vital (*ibid.*: 42).

The data shown in Table 6.4 (see Appendix III) reveal that the food items most commonly mentioned by non-Asians were: bread, pasta, pizza and sausages. It has to be noted that these kinds of food can also be found in Asian countries. It may be because they do not belong to the usual daily eating habits of Asians that the participants did not list them. Participants were generally eager to give details about

foods that were specific to their countries. Many of the food items (such as the 'Tuo safi and kenkey' mentioned by the Ghanaian; and the 'Pad Thai' referred to by the Canadian) listed by the overseas participants are unknown to Hong Kong people. The information provided by the Hong Kong participants demonstrated that they possessed limited knowledge about the food eaten by people from different parts of the world. Some of them (30%) simply replied 'I don't know'. The others only listed general terms such as meat, fish and water or 'Italian food' and so on. The food culture is a clear mark of reference to distinguish one nation from other nations. It provides a sense of home and is something which people are proud of and eager to identify with. To invite foreign guests to taste food from one's own country is a sign of friendship. It is much easier for immigrants to adapt to a new environment in the way they dress and communicate than it is for them to change their eating habits. Maintaining the eating habits of the immigrant's mother country serves as a sign of ancestral remembrance and a sense of home to people who are struggling between being 'foreigners' or local citizens. In this case, an identity crisis clearly arises.

The Hong Kong participants could only provide specific information about Japanese and Indian food, such as 'raw fish' for the Japanese and 'chapattis' and 'curry' for the Indians. The principal food consumed by the Hong Kong participants was 'rice' (40%), with 'noodles' and 'Japanese food' having the same rating. This reflects the strong preference for Japanese culture among the Hong Kong participants. The transmission of a food culture to another country is an imaginary extension of a country's territorial boundary. Similarly, the transmission of Japanese food culture to Hong Kong is also significant. Japanese noodle and Sushi restaurants are very popular

in Hong Kong. Japanese food is commonly found in Hong Kong supermarkets. This marks the success of the Japanese economic colonisation of Hong Kong, superceding the historical influence of the West.

Participants' perceptions of daily clothing and Westernisation

The way people dress is a sign of personal and social identity. The style of clothes that we wear shows our taste in fashion, and how we adapt to or resist our daily environment. It involves serious thoughts about our own identity. What people wear is a cultural phenomenon, a mirror reflecting social issues and a site of possible conflict. My data indicate that Western influence on Asian dress is very strong (see Appendix III Table 6.5). All the people from Europe, Australia and America indicated that they wore Western clothes. The most common casual wear listed by Asians was 'T-shirt and jeans', and 'Western clothes' such as 'Western-style trousers, dress, shirt, blouse' and 'suits'. 'T-shirt and jeans'³ were the most popular items of clothing mentioned by the Hong Kong participants, some Asians (for example, the Japanese and Korean), and

³ The following account may help to clarify the different values and social identities involved in the development of T-shirts and jeans. T-shirts were originally worn by European soldiers as an undergarment. After World War I, American soldiers started to wear them. Denim was first developed in Europe, and later Leon Strauss (subsequently called Levi) made use of this material to produce clothing for gold-miners in San Francisco. The wearing of T-shirts and jeans was promoted by cowboy movies and films such as *Rebel Without A Cause* as 'symbols of rebellious youth'. This support for 'freedom' and innovation shifted to a 'social and sexual revolution' initiated by the hippies during the 1960s. With the promotion of designers these products gradually turned into fashionable objects and became marks of status. Counter to this utopian ideal then emerged the 'back to basics' movement. In 1990, jeans were associated with feelings of nostalgia and remain influential

W12, W13, W14

Europeans (for example, the Italian and the German). Jeans and trainers have become the 'uniform' of the young in Western youth culture. This vogue has spread widely in South-east Asia. Hall (1992: 302) admits that the globalisation of the 'consumer culture of the West' reaches every part of the world through TV and radio. T-shirt and jeans are two popular icons of Western clothing, and they are being continually modified and appropriated by different institutions to construct new values and social identities.

In China, the Westernisation of the dress culture has been underway for some time (Garrett, 1994; Roberts, 1997; Clark, 2000; Scott, 1958). Western dress is still regarded nowadays as 'more convenient and adapted to modern conditions' (Scott, 1958: 64). Said (1979: 1) argues that when the West constructed the concept of the Orient, people in the Orient perceived themselves as different and became Others to themselves, who are far from being modern and civilised. This has created a desire among Oriental people to cling to the knowledge constructed by the West.

Data revealed that there were differences in the clothing worn in different situations. These included gender differences; contextual differences, such as climate conditions and places of work or home; the 'position' or social status of individuals; and the type of work done. The Singaporean focused on the varieties of footwear worn in his country and the South African highlighted specific clothes worn by hunters. These qualities show the geographic specialties of these countries and how people adapt to the environment in their own ways. Most participants tried to indicate their differences in relation to the Others in their response to this question.

The impact of national costumes on national identities

Data obtained from the participants from different countries (see Appendix III Table 6.6) show that there are national costumes for all Asians, Africans, Americans and some Europeans. Some of the countries still maintain a lived culture of wearing national costumes in daily life. 'Saris and Salwar Dameez' are worn by Indian women, 'Osariya' by Sri Lankan women. The Bangladeshi women wear 'Shari, Salwar-Kamiz' and men wear 'shirts, pants and Lungi'. The traditional clothing worn by the Africans includes: for the Nigerian, 'wrapper and blouse', and 'Pagnes' and 'Grand Boubou' for the participant from Chad. In the above-mentioned countries, it is mainly females who maintain the tradition of wearing national clothes in their daily life. Men's clothing has become more Westernised. Loomba (1998: 215) reminds us of the subordination of women engendered in the 'imagined community' of 'national fantasies', colonial, anti-colonial or post-colonial alike. She argues that the reaction of native men to their experience of colonisation was to turn to their home:

They seized upon the home and the woman as emblems of their culture and nationality. The outside world would be Westernized but all was not lost if the domestic space retained its cultural purity (Loomba, 1998: 168-169).

The concept of national costumes is also a social issue. It involves dominant cultural values in a nation as a whole and a conflict of interest among various groups within a country. In the process of selecting a unique national culture to represent a country, the identities of some ethnic groups disappear. However, Hall (1992: 308) argues that there have been cases where local identities of minority communities have been strengthened and their differences reaffirmed in order to defend themselves from

cultural racism and exclusion.

The homogenisation of dress culture does not occur in every country. Data show that there were regional differences in Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, Mexico and Ghana; and differences among indigenous groups or natives in Peru and Canada. There were many debates among participants, such as the Spanish and Italian, on whether the national costume really represented the country or just particular kinds of people within that country. The South African and Maltese raised the point that national costumes were worn only on particular occasions: for instance, 'at international fairs or shows'; 'in pageants which were organised by the authorities'; but 'not for national events'. The concept of national costume in these cases reflected the fact that such costumes are created according to different needs, such as cultural diversity and intercultural relationships, or in order to promote national affairs. Their existence coincides with what Anderson calls the 'imagined community', mentioned earlier.

In the case of China, in 1911, on the founding of the Republic of China, there was a marked change in Chinese dress. A new national 'revolutionary' uniform was developed with reference to the model of Sun Zhongshan, the political leader at that time. It integrated both Chinese and Western elements in its design. Nationalism existed as a strong power to resist the influence of modern Western thinking. In this case, the foreign West was a model to be learned from as well as an enemy to the society. The maintenance of a difference between Chinese national dress and that of the Western world enhanced the sense of belonging to the country. Thus nationalism helped to maintain control within the nation. According to Gellner (1983: 138), nationalism 'served as a source of resistance to colonialism'. The establishment of a national dress

was associated with national pride, loyalty and a sense of belonging to the nation (Garrett, 1994: 99).

The Hong Kong participants had few ideas concerning the culture of national costumes in other countries. None of them (except one, who mentioned a wrongly-spelt name for the national costume of Japan) was able to name any national costumes from other countries. Their limited knowledge about people in other countries confirms the facts obtained from my investigation of the Hong Kong art curriculum, which neglected knowledge about non-Western cultures and lacked specific cultural content.

Most of the Hong Kong participants (80%) agreed that they have a national costume. Half of them indicated that it was the 'zhangshan /qipao' and the other half regarded the Tang clothes (now called 'Kung Fu ['Gongfu' in putonghua] Suit' in the West) as their national costume. The development of these two types of clothing reflects the effect of colonial influence and globalisation. The 'zhangshan /qipao' was adopted from the style of clothes of the coloniser, that is the Manchu, by the local Han Chinese. Under Western influence it was modified. With the promotion of a Western film called *The World of Suzie Wong*, which was made in Hong Kong, it became popular. I think the wearing of 'zhangshan' symbolised the Oriental Other to the West. It was further globalised and hybridised when world-famous brands such as Ralph Lauren^{W15} introduced such elements in their designs. However, among Hong Kong teenagers now it is simply old-fashioned.

The Tang clothes/'Kung Fu [Gongfu] Suit' were initially a style of clothes called 'shan ku' worn by common Chinese folk. This style captured people's attention owing

to the popularity of the film *The Chinese Connection*, starring the famous Chinese actor, Bruce Lee. The character he played was a Chinese who defeated his enemies: the Japanese. After Bruce Lee, the Tang clothes became known all over the world as the 'Kung Fu Suit'⁴. However, a recent example showed that a Japanese element has been introduced. Bruce Lee's success was partly owing to nationalism and yet this has not affected his popularity in other countries. To most Chinese, Bruce Lee was a hero because his success in gaining international popularity made people feel proud of being Chinese. Although the 'shan ku' style had never been regarded as national dress in the past, the Hong Kong participants in this study regarded it as such.

⁴ 'Tang style' clothes refer to a kind of traditional Chinese clothes that were worn by ethnic Han men, usually lower-middle class people: for example, stonecutters, farmers, fishermen, servants and common labourers, in the Qing dynasty. In those days these kinds of clothes were normally called 'shan' and 'ku'. 'Shan' means an upper garment, which was usually loose-fitting with a big (right-fastening or front-opening) lapel fastened by loops and buttons. 'Ku' means trousers. These were also loose-fitting and were tightened with a girdle or belt around the waist (Szeto, 1992: 38). By the 1940s, 'a two-piece outfit of centre-opening jacket and ku was worn by all classes for more informal occasions'. In the 1950s, Chinese men discarded this dress. Most Chinese businessmen followed Western conventions in dress (Scott, 1958: 70). Now it is common to find these clothes (called the 'Kung Fu Suit' [Gong Fu Suit in putonghua]) in shopping centres especially for tourists who visit Hong Kong and China.

The name 'Bruce Lee' added to the name of the suit suggests why this kind of dress was used to represent 'Kung Fu'^{w16}. The 'Bruce Lee Kung Fu suit' is even supplied with a gold-coloured belt to be tied round the waist, a tradition adopted from Japanese Judo (as indicated in the above description, no belt was tied on top of the 'shan' in past tradition). Japanese people were featured as Bruce Lee's enemies in his famous film *The Chinese Connection* (called *Jing Wu School* 精武門 in Hong Kong)^{w17}, but now the 'Bruce Lee Kung Fu suit' has been modified by the addition of a Japanese element.

Schirato and Webb (2003: 154) suggest that ‘identity is always being negotiated across and between local, regional, national and global spheres’. The identification of national dress by the Hong Kong participants confirms Hall’s suggestion that identity is fragmented and never unified. Social identity is constructed and ‘national identity’ is only imagined.

Participants’ perceptions of important festivals in different countries

Many participants from different countries regarded ‘Independence Day’ as one of the important festivals in their country (see Appendix III Table 6.7). These included people from post-colonial countries such as Sri Lanka, Ghana, Chad, Peru and Mexico. Another festival with close ties to national development is the ‘Day of Reunion’ in Germany. The celebration of ‘Jean Baptiste Day’⁵ recalls the resistance of the French in Quebec to the dominant culture, which celebrates ‘Canada Day’⁶ in the rest of Canada. The shift from celebrating ‘Republic Day’ to ‘Christmas’ in South Africa reflects the political change and adoption of new values in the country. Overall, I discovered a regional characteristic for festivals. East and South-east Asian countries tend to emphasise the Lunar New Year, which is associated with family gatherings. South Asian and Western countries emphasise religious festivals. Many past colonial countries regard Independence Day as their most important festival. The national day

⁵ ‘Jean-Baptiste Day’ or ‘Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day’ was originally a festival celebrating the summer solstice and was later changed to celebrate St. John the Baptist. The celebration of this festival was transferred to North America by the French colonists^{W18}.

⁶ ‘Canada Day’ celebrates ‘the establishment of Canada as a self-governing country on 1 July 1867’^{W19}

of different countries reveals the particularities of their political history. The adoption of festivals from different cultures indicates the processes of assimilation and resistance.

Jessica Evans (1999/2005: 2) believes that 'our sense of nationhood and of national identity' arises from the meaning-making arrangements of 'symbolic practices'. This meaning-making construct was conceptualised as 'invented tradition' (see Chapter 7) by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Hobsbawm (1983a: 264), a scholar of economic and social history, argues that 'the state linked both formal and informal, official and unofficial, political and social inventions of tradition', with 'the state [being] the framework' while 'the common man was to take part in it'. The intention of invented traditions, such as public ceremonies, was to stabilise the power of a government. Discussing the French Revolution, Hobsbawm argues that 'the invention of public ceremonies... was to transform the heritage of the Revolution into a combined expression of state pomp and power and the citizens' pleasure' (*ibid.*: 271). On this occasion, the ruler becomes 'the focus of his people's or peoples' unity, the symbolic representative of the country's greatness and glory, of its entire past and continuity with a changing present' (*ibid.*: 282).

Most Hong Kong participants (80%) regarded the Chinese New Year as the most important festival in Hong Kong. By contrast, the response attributed to the Yi was 'National Day'. This shows that, when asked to compare themselves with the Yi, the Hong Kong participants had a tendency to emphasise their own ethnic Cantonese identity over the Chinese national identity which they shared with the Yi, perhaps in an attempt to differentiate themselves from the Yi. The one participant who had had experience of living with this ethnic minority, however, indicated that a local festival

called the 'Torch Festival' (24th day of the 6th lunar month) was the most important. Most of the Hong Kong participants (90%) wrote 'I don't know' to the question asking about their knowledge of important festivals in other countries (see Appendix III Table 6.8). This shows that Hong Kong participants had almost no idea of the festive culture of other countries.

With regard to research question 2: 'What are the perceptions of certain pre-service teachers of their own identities and those of Others?', the data suggest that the Hong Kong participants are biased regarding people of particular nationalities and that this affects their views of their own identities. The use of 'border pedagogy' in this questionnaire has effectively demonstrated the inaccuracy that arises when attempting to imagine or represent Others. In the absence of relevant knowledge and understanding, to imagine the Other realistically is not possible.

The next chapter will discuss the impact of modernist progressive values on the participants' perception of modern and Chinese traditional lifestyles.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF CONTEMPORARY AND TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLES ON PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR IDENTITY

There is a rich array of culture embedded in architecture. The Chinese house is associated with culture related to the family, gender and class, expressed through the symbolic use of space, the structural form and themes of artistic decoration. In the Hong Kong art curriculum, the Chinese house is often used as an icon to represent the Chinese artistic tradition. However, architecture as an art form is seldom addressed by art teachers in Hong Kong. In the early 20th century, Western thinkers such as Max Weber (1864-1920), a German sociologist and philosopher, attempted to analyse the conditions in China according to modernist progressive philosophies and concluded that these conditions arose out of backwardness. This notion caused enlightened Chinese scholars to embark on a period of criticising Chinese culture. Other Chinese scholars accepted such arguments without question and initiated a modification of Chinese systems and traditions in an attempt to match Western standards. As a result, the family system, which corresponded with the culture of the traditional Chinese house, was destroyed, and the architectural tradition was discontinued and replaced by modern high-rise buildings. The Hong Kong participants were all raised in such an environment.

This chapter investigates the impact of progressive modernist thought on participants' values concerning contemporary and traditional lifestyles, with a particular focus on living conditions and relationships within the family. It also explores

participants' self-identification along the continuum of the contemporary and the traditional, as well as their understanding of and views concerning the traditional lifestyle in Hong Kong. The data indicate that the participants' knowledge of past lifestyle traditions was vague. Although they were highly influenced by Western values, they still held a few selected traditional values. As far as education is concerned, I think it is time for us to rethink our concepts of and attitudes towards 'traditions' and traditional Chinese practices. For policy makers and educators in non-Western societies like Hong Kong, a review of existing curricula and current practices in planning for the future is necessary.

I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the rapid development of Hong Kong which has taken place over the last fifty years, small low-rise cottages or town houses have gradually been replaced by high-rise apartment blocks. Positively speaking, modernisation has helped Hong Kong to keep up with the tempo of the rest of the world. From a negative point of view, these transformations have wiped away collective memories and terminated our connection with the past. In the process of modernisation, 'traditional societies, cultures and environments' are destroyed by the exclusive nature of modernity (Sardar, 1998: 11). Non-Western cultures are transformed (Sardar, 1998; Hobsbawm, 1994/1996).

The impact of modernity on Chinese culture

As discussed earlier, modernity was characterised by 'scientific rationality, the development of commerce and capitalism, the rise of education, surveillance, urbanism

and atheism' (Schirato & Webb, 2003: 218). The modernist Walter Benjamin (1979 [originally written in the 1930s]: 262-263) put forward the idea of progress as 'advances in men's ability and knowledge' in relation to time but not to the general development of mankind. In this ideology, traditions are regarded as obstacles to progressive development. As a consequence, many Chinese are turning away from their traditional values. Traditional houses do not seem to be 'home' for Hong Kong Chinese residents. This reflects the destructive power of modernism with regard to Chinese traditions (Knapp, 1990; Schaaf, 2001).

The Chinese house as a referent for Chinese social culture and personal philosophies

Traditional Chinese culture is symbolised by the Chinese house. The house where one lives is not just a dwelling but also a home. It houses a family. The tradition of the Chinese house was maintained for a millennium and a consistent culture developed around it. Ronald Knapp (1999: 8), a professor of geography and renowned writer on traditional Chinese architecture, describes a traditional Chinese house as a 'humanized space' which represents the structure of a family, its hierarchies in relation to generation, gender and age, its social web and the ethical norm. Similarly, Judy Schaaf (2001: 174), a professor of world cultures, states that the traditional Chinese house reflects the values of individuals and the relationships among members of the family. The Chinese house embodies a kind of Confucian text from which one can identify the spiritual and physical needs of the Chinese inhabitants and understand the traditional Chinese world (*ibid.*: 167).

The Chinese word for ‘nation’ - 國家 - unites the meanings of nation [guo 國] and family [jia 家], thus indicating their close relationship. The philosophy of Confucius on interpersonal relationships between the self, family and nation, as illustrated in the *Daxue* 大學¹ (*Great Learning*), has had a profound influence on the Chinese, both in past generations and today.

General Western views of Chinese tradition

As already discussed in Chapter 5, a re-evaluation of the existing Chinese culture was initiated in the late 1910s when many educated Chinese returned from abroad. A second wave of re-evaluation occurred after 1949, when the Communists came to power. The tension between the ‘Old’ and the ‘New’, analogous to that between the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’, became acute. Set against the scientific and technological advancements of the modernist West, traditional Chinese beliefs, values and practices were challenged. China was perceived as backward and poor, full of outdated and old-fashioned folk culture. The philosophy of Confucius was seen as the useless residue of a feudal society (Knapp, 1999: 159). The Great Proletarian Cultural

1 The philosophy of Confucius concerning the relationship between the cultivation of the self and the harmony of the family and of society at large is illustrated in *Daxue* 大學 (*The Great Learning/Superior Learning*), one of the *Four Books* containing Confucius’ philosophy, as follows:

Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy (Confucius, Legge (trans.), 1899: 219-245).

Revolution brought about the radical destruction of what were at the time referred to as the 'Four Olds' (these being 'thought, culture, customs and habits') (*ibid.*: 161).

The Western perspective on Chinese culture in the late nineteenth century can be seen in the article 'The Chinese Literati', written by Weber. In this article Weber attempted to analyse Chinese culture with reference to the Western world. He made use of Confucius' *Analects* – *Lunyü* 論語 - to argue that the 'young' people were victims of old traditional doctrines. For him, 'the charismatic personality' was the 'specifically "creative" revolutionary force in history'; and 'the breaker of tradition' (Shils, 1981: 228), whereas Confucian philosophy idealised a state of harmony between the old and the young. Although similar patriarchal relationships to the 'king-subject, father-child, master-servant' relationships existed in the Western world, for example, in seventeenth-century England (Butler, 1995: 27), Weber selected the past Chinese social system to be a signifier of irrationalism. His prejudice against the Orient is clear.

With the mindset of a coloniser, Weber made use of various means to denigrate the achievements of the Chinese. He described the Chinese Imperial Examination² as

² 'The Chinese imperial examination system was a method [of] evaluat[ing] ability and select[ing] officials in dynastic China on the basis of merit rather than social position or political connections'. The system originated in the Han Dynasty (206-220 BC). After AD 605, Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty 'established the first literary subjects for civil service examinations to select officials... Imperial examinations consisted of district, province and state-level exams, which were held every three years... The winners at a palace exam were determined according to their scores and classified into three levels... In the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368-1644), the royal court confined examination subjects to the four Confucian classics and their commentaries, and adopted a mandatory answer format known as the eight-part essay... In 1905, during the reign of Emperor Guangxu in the late Qing Dynasty, the imperial examination system was finally terminated under public pressure' ^{W20}.

‘secular’, ‘bookish knowledge’ which conformed to ‘prescribed norms’. Its exclusive nature made it unable to meet the modern rational and bureaucratic requirement for the differentiation of special skills. By equating the Imperial Examinations with the assignments of ‘the top grades of a German gymnasium’ or ‘the select class of a German girl’s college’ in the West (Weber, 1967 [first published in 1948]: 427-428), their standard was devalued. In objection to this view, Teng Ssu Yu [Deng Siyu 鄧嗣禹] (1943: 280), a Chinese historian, listed numerous references to the influence of the Chinese Imperial Examination upon the early establishment of the examination systems of the West: for instance, those in France and England in the 1850s³ and also of China’s neighbouring countries. Under the pressure of Western modernist thought the Chinese Imperial Examination was terminated in 1905. Until today, many Chinese scholars still hold views similar to those of Weber. They remain unaware that it was the coloniser’s desire for hegemony that caused the downfall of their own culture.

Weber’s attack on Chinese culture was extensive. He criticised the Chinese education system for not displaying a ‘rational-formalist character’, since it focused principally on ritual and ceremonial matters (Weber, 1948/1967: 432). Weber consistently mystified the attainments of Chinese intellectuals by referring to them as ‘magic power’ (*ibid.*: 417, 433, 439). China became a wonderland full of magic, an uncivilised Other. Weber also perceived the Chinese ‘pictorial script’ as hampering systematic thinking and as an obstacle to the development of the oratorical arts.

³ Traces of Chinese influence can be found in reports. For example, in the *Northcote and Trevelyan Report*, Lord Monteagle remarked that ‘The only precedent which exactly applies is that of the Empire of China’ (*Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, CXXXI, March 13, 1854, p651; in Teng, 1943: 229).

Besides, he thought learning to 'paint' about 2000 [Chinese] characters was a waste of time (*ibid.*: 430-431). In contrast to Weber's view, Linda Pickle (2001: 23), a professor of language and intercultural studies, depicts the rationality of the system of Chinese characters as operating in a correlative way of thinking between pictographs and meaning.

Weber also neglected the achievement of classical Chinese poetry, which reached its apogee in the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907). Moreover, Chinese calligraphy is an established art with a long history. It is more than just 'painting' and merely copying individual 'pictorial scripts'. In response, a number of enlightened scholars, such as Liang Qichao and Hu Shih [Hu Shi], strove 'to defend the dignity of the Chinese civilization by stressing the rationalistic view of the Confucian doctrine' (Gopalan, 1973: 63) in the early twentieth century.

Modernity and traditions contrasted

Progressivists' view of traditions

As an enthusiast for progress, Weber distinguished traditional societies from rational societies which cater 'for the optimal satisfaction of "interests"' (Shils, 1981: 9), by which he means the superiority of scientific rationality over traditional societies in providing the most benefit to the people in the society. Developing Friedrich Schiller's (1759-1805) idea of the 'disenchantment of the world', Weber (1948/1967: 155) maintained that this 'disenchantment' was related to the theory of liberalism and enlightenment, and man's history was regarded as a 'unilinear "progress" towards moral perfection (sublimation), or towards cumulative technological rationalization' (Gerth &

Mills, 1967 [first published in 1948]: 51). Weber defined 'traditionalism' as a 'clinging to what has come out of long past times, which takes over inherited customs and imposes them on other epochs...' (Shils, 1981: 9) without 'rational reflection and empirical observation' (*ibid.*: 4-5). Among progressivists,

traditionality was regarded as the cause or the consequence of ignorance, superstition, clerical dominance, religious intolerance, social hierarchy, inequality in the distribution of wealth, preemption of the best positions in society on grounds of birth, and other states of mind... (Shils, 1981: 6).

'Mankind' was therefore 'enslaved by traditions' and traditions were obstacles to growth (*ibid.*: 21).

The progressivists claimed that the modernist scientific inquiry was 'the most advanced mode of intellectual rationalization' because it greatly improved the economy and technology of societies (Shils, 1981: 291). Since the 'new' was assumed to guarantee improvement it was necessary to depart from the 'pre-modern cultures' and 'traditional ways of seeing and doing' (Shils, 1981: 21, 287; Giddens, 1991/1995: 16).

Sardar (1998: 34) observes that under the domination of the West, values such as 'competition, control, production, achievement, efficiency, growth, progress, development' are justified by the ideals of individualism and instrumental reason. Instrumental reason is defined by Taylor (1991: 4) as 'the kind of rationality we draw on when we calculate the most economical application of means to a given end. Maximum efficiency, the best cost-output ratio, is its measure of success'.

Alternative views of traditions

The anthropologist, Pascal Boyer (1990: 109-114), claims that a tradition is a 'complex form of interactions' which modifies people's behaviour in various ways. The complex concept of tradition outlined by Edward Shils (1981: 1-2, 263-264) involves beliefs, conception, practices, arrangements, institutions, objects and assessments, which usually last over many generations, with substantive content and common themes of interpretation and 'a standard embodied in actions'. The adherents to or observers of traditions generate a 'disposition of beliefs' out of their own interests to set boundaries which exclude other people. These boundaries are often the sites of conflict. Ideas such as 'liberal' and 'conservative' are constructed in this way. However, these concepts are usually vague and subject to 'variant interpretations'.

In agreement with the significance of time in building up the normative and coherent traditions suggested by Shils (1981: 24-25), Giddens (1991/1995: 48, 62) perceives traditions as being sustained by merging cohesiveness with repetition. Repetition is defined as 'the recurrent use of existing knowledge and established practices in traditional ontological frameworks and constant reference to the past' so that the consistent social actions will make the future foreseeable and stabilised. Thus traditions provide 'stabilized frameworks' for the integration of memory traces (Giddens, 1994/1997: 67), despite the fact that tensions may occur in the enactment of traditional practices (Giddens, 1991/1995).

Progressivists frequently maintain that individuals are bound by traditions handed down from past generations. However, Hobsbawm (1983b: 8) argues that traditions can be recent as well as old inventions. Sometimes new traditions are 'invented' with

a deliberate rejection of old traditions, thus setting the scene for a conflict between traditions and innovation. According to Hobsbawm (1983b: 1),

invented tradition [is] a set of practices, normally governed by ... accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.

Likewise, Shils (1981), Giddens (1994/1997) and Sardar (1998) maintain that traditions are subject to change in various ways through the different reactions of individuals according to diverse factors.

A tradition changes in many ways. It can be transformed, combined, assimilated; absorbed by other traditions (Shils, 1981: 275); form a 'new syncretic synthesis' (*ibid.*: 279); split into separate traditions; die or be replaced by other traditions as a result of change in its substance or adherence (*ibid.*: 283); or be modified owing to 'correction, generalization or differentiation' (*ibid.*: 280). Changes may occur in the perceptions of adherents (*ibid.*: 219-223) and the constituents of the content or components of a tradition (*ibid.*: 262-263). Traditions may be eliminated, revived or invented under different circumstances (Hobsbawm, 1983b: 4, 8).

The influence of a tradition is measured by the number of its adherents, which varies across time (Shils, 1981: 262-263). The number of adherents to a tradition may increase as the result of a 'growth in the belief'; an increase in 'cognitive awareness'; a shift in their focus of interest; or a change in their self-evaluation (*ibid.*: 219-223). It may decrease owing to a 'loss of faith in the beliefs'; 'poor transmission'; the 'indifference of respondents'; 'neglect in the training of relevant skill'; the inaccessibility of knowledge about the traditions; or the 'deliberate intention of

authority' (*ibid.*: 283).

Shils (1981: 31) argues that traditions provide the pattern that guides the enactment and reenactment of practices by individuals, but that changes are usually initiated by the adherents, and not by external circumstances (*ibid.*: 213), through their acceptance, rejection or modification of the traditions (*ibid.*: 44-45); interpretations of and emphases in that tradition; and contributions made by each new generation (*ibid.*: 35).

Power relationships are involved in the development of traditions. In situations of conflict, adherents to a tradition may strive to protect or promote 'their own ideals, power, status and other benefits' and accentuate particular elements of the tradition in order to survive (Shils, 1981: 279-280), while others resist. Ranger (1983: 221, 244) conceives that both colonialists and nationalists invent traditions and that both draw on one another's traditions in order to reinforce or challenge each other's authority. Sardar (1998: 274) argues that traditionalism 'is a reflex-action, a response to external pressure... its only activity is to retain...the imperishable content of what is known'. He advocates a recovery of the plurality of tradition and says that one should 'redefine modernity in [its] own terms and cultural frameworks' (*ibid.*: 284). Foucault maintains that 'the modern intellectual no longer represents the "bearer of universal values"' and diverse interpretations are possible when differentiating between the true and the false (Smart, 1999: 41).

Gellner (1983: 21) claims that it is impossible to see the diverse practices of a traditional social order as a single, unified practice. Other critics, such as the Shils (1981) and Horton (1982), reject the idea that traditionalism and Western modernity are antithetical;. Shils (1981) sees the progressivists' claim that traditions are ignorant and

irrational as being in themselves ‘new superstitions, intolerance and dogmatism’ (*ibid.*: 5). Horton argues that the claim of rationality could only apply to ‘the domain of non-living things’ rather than ‘the domain of human social life’. Hence Weber’s claim that the natures of the traditional and the rational are antithetical is itself irrational (Horton, 1982: 258).

Horton (1982: 238) defines traditionalist knowledge as ‘the community’s accepted body of theory ... handed down from the ancients’; and progressivistic knowledge as a body of theory which is continually being improved with minimal reference to the past. Traditional knowledge is achieved by consensus operated under the system of ‘cognitive traditionalism’. During this process experience is expanded. Innovations are carried out within that framework. Progressivistic knowledge operates in the system of ‘cognitive modernism’, which involves a competitive setting and the generation of new experience different from existing theory (*ibid.*: 246).

Shils (1981: 22) claims that science and traditions are interconnected because science is based on past traditions such as previous discoveries and past experience of rational criticism, and accepted scientific innovations will also become traditions in their turn. Gopalan (1973: 10-11), an Eastern philosopher, agrees, and argues that scientific methods did not eliminate tradition but helped to clarify ‘the nature, role and influence of tradition in human affairs’.

Impact of traditions and globalisation on identities

Shils (1981: 49-51) opines that the past and traditions are related to individuals’ identities in many ways. We identify ourselves in part through our memories. When

we define ourselves, we often refer to educational qualifications we have obtained and professions we have been engaged in the past. We relate ourselves to our ancestors by describing our 'biological acquaintance', or ethnic origin. The issue of self-identity becomes acute when the 'modern' self is related to 'traditional' social contexts (Giddens, 1991/1995: 34). Giddens (1990: 38) claims that the difficulty could be solved by integrating modernity with tradition through a 'reflexivity of the modern'. 'Reflexivity' means that 'thought and action are constantly refracted back upon one another' and 'social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character'.

Giddens (1994/1997: 95-97) also contrasts the concept of tradition with globalisation. In his view, traditions involved the control of time and space in local situations, whereas globalisation involves 'action at distance', which means 'absence predominates over presence'. Social relationships have been altered owing to the separation of time from space and the separation of interactions from the local as well as the 'traditional modes of life'. Under the impact of globalisation, almost every aspect of human life is subject to external influence (Giddens, 1991/1995: 51). On the other hand, postmodern theories tend to perceive the self as engaged in 'a multiplicity of incoherent and unrelated language', and portray it as fragmented (Gergen, 1991: 6-7; Hall, 1992: 279; Giddens, 1991: 190; Grossberg, 1996: 89) and negotiable in different circumstances.

Jonathan Friedman (1992/1998: 361-362), an anthropologist, observes that 'Asian

modernism' adopts life-strategies similar to the Western model of the demand for democracy and 'efficient moral governance' and 'economic growth and social modernization'. However, Asians perceive the role of the individual as being that of 'an instrument of the group', not that of 'an autonomous agent'. Loomba (1998/2005: 256) notes that post-colonial studies tend to over emphasise a Eurocentric past. She urges us to pay attention to the difficulties of the post-colonial present and to the transformation of ideas and practices to the local circumstances which shape 'globality' in the contemporary world.

Impact of traditional Chinese culture and contemporary culture on the identity of the Hong Kong Chinese

In Hong Kong the transformation of local culture through modernisation can be seen reflected in the changes in rural life. During the colonial period, in the Hong Kong media, traditional Chinese culture was often symbolised by the lives of indigenous people living in traditional Chinese houses in the rural areas. Rural life represents the past and the ethnic Chinese character of the Hong Kong people. Hung Ho Fung (1998: 22) observes that

the 'rural' is often projected as the 'Other' of the metropolitan self-image of Hong Kong... The 'rural' is seen as anachronistic and an antithesis of the Hong Kong way of life [and the] rejection and discrimination of the 'rural' is a crucial component of the cultural politics of Hong Kong identity.

Before 1997, people in Hong Kong did not have a strong sense of Chinese identity. My previous study carried out in 1998 revealed that secondary school students in Hong

Kong were unwilling to study traditional Chinese culture (Ma, 2002: 164). Since receiving continuous national education in Hong Kong during the post-colonial period, however, students have now become used to studying local Chinese heritages. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned perception of a contrast between the old (traditional Chinese way of life) and the new (contemporary city life) remains.

The questionnaire on this issue (see Appendix II Q4) was designed to give students/participants an awareness of the different conditions of the contemporary and traditional ways of life and to stimulate an examination of their existing concepts and attitudes towards the two different situations and lifestyles. It was hoped that from this research an understanding of the participants' perceptions of their contemporary and traditional identities in the local post-colonial context might be gained.

II. DATA ANALYSIS: PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS OF CONTEMPORARY AND TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLES

I wished to identify participants' ideas regarding traditions and also to establish whether these ideas had been formed as a result of colonial or national influence, or of a lack of knowledge about traditions. It was expected that, when participants contrasted contemporary life with the traditional life, this would inspire them to review their existing concepts of Chinese traditions, relationships among family members and their social life, as well as technological influence on people's daily life practices. From the perspective of education, it was expected that this might direct students to a more understanding attitude towards past traditions and to those living in such conditions

now.

Construction of this questionnaire

A study entitled *Advertising Modernity: 'Home', Space and Privacy*, conducted by Cheung and Ma, gave me an insight into how Hong Kong participants' perceptions of their ideal lifestyle might be studied by examining their responses to an advertisement. Cheung and Ma (1999: 1) believe that advertising is 'one of the central cultural institutions in Asia'. Besides encouraging consumption, it also introduces foreign tastes and new lifestyles. It is a cultural expression reflecting 'changing norms, stereotypes and collective ideals'. Housing advertisements can show 'values, meanings of family and sense of belonging', as well as the influence of the government's housing policy on shaping individuals' ideals regarding lifestyle. These ideals shed light on what individuals feel they lack. Cheung and Ma (1999) discovered that in the 1960s, practical concerns with interior features, such as good lighting and telephone, were emphasised. In the 1990s, the focus was on the appeal of exterior features, such as space and privacy and other types of status marker. The living conditions presented were a projection of the common desire of the newly established middle class for a special identity. Thus the study of the ideal home provides an insight into how concepts of status and class are shaped. Bourdieu (1990: 133) writes, via the distribution of properties, the social world presents itself, objectively, as a symbolic system which is organized in accordance with the logic of difference, of a differential variation. The social space tends to function as a symbolic space, a space of life-styles and status groups, characterized by different life-styles.

Design of the questionnaire

Two sets of pictures and information were attached to this questionnaire. One set was extracted from an advertisement for a newly constructed housing estate in Hong Kong in 2002. The other set was of the Tai Fu Tai, a historical building in Hong Kong. This is a traditional Chinese residence built in 1865. It represents the local Chinese building tradition popular in Hong Kong prior to the British colonisation, that is, over one hundred years ago. This questionnaire was structured in such a way that participants would have to contrast the contemporary style of living with rural living conditions in the past, and to identify the attributes of their ideal home. On the other hand, a Swiss participant also provided information on similar topics on the questionnaire from the perspective of a Westerner.

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Advertisement for Ocean Shores 維景灣畔 in 2002

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Tai Fu Tai
大夫第

Five questions were asked. The first question required participants to identify the ideal living conditions of a contemporary house in Hong Kong, while the Other member had to imagine living in a traditional house and describe the corresponding conditions in the past. The second question asked participants to list the basic facilities of a contemporary house, while the Other indicated their availability in the old days. The third question asked participants to analyse how daily living problems were solved both in contemporary life and in the past. The fourth and fifth questions asked participants to describe the symbolic meanings embedded in the artistic decoration of historical architecture (including wishes and fears). It was anticipated that their responses would reflect their degree of understanding of the traditional culture of a Chinese house. As an educational pedagogy it was expected that this questionnaire would inculcate an understanding attitude among the participants towards life in the past. While the participants were responding to the questionnaires, the discussion of one of the groups was tape-recorded. The purpose of this record was to triangulate information and supplement the written responses.

Participants' orientation to living environment in the contemporary lifestyle or traditional Chinese lifestyle

The advertisement for the new housing project reveals the kind of lifestyle that people in Hong Kong cannot resist: convenient transport, and a 'large housing complex equipped with a comprehensive array of up-to-date technologies and recreational facilities'. The apartments on the upper floors of the high-rise building, facing south with an 'open, panoramic sea view', marked by their high economic value, are usually

promoted as being exclusively for prestigious owners. With frequent exposure to such messages people are likely to be convinced of the attractiveness of such a lifestyle. According to Giddens (1991: 81), a 'lifestyle [is an] integrated set of practices which an individual embraces' 'because such practices fulfill utilitarian needs' and 'they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity'. Lifestyles are influenced by group pressures, role models, socio-economic circumstances and the 'sociological classification of consumer categories' fostered by advertisers. The consumption of goods becomes a 'substitute for the genuine development of self' (*ibid.*: 197-198). However, individuals are able to discriminate with regard to this information and to resist the influence of commodification through their reflexivity. Moreover, there are a variety of choices available in the market system that individuals may make.

Packard (1957/1981: 15) believes that advertisements address people's taste and psychological need when buying commodities: that is, they see 'the consumers as self-image buyers' (*ibid.*: 47); buying a promise, a hope and prestige. Usually consumers react emotionally, compulsively and unconsciously to the product with its associated meanings.

The data indicate that most of the participants (ranging from 88.9% to 100%) (see Appendix III Table 7.1) regarded the contemporary conditions described in the advertisement as fulfilling their criteria of an ideal home: namely, having an 'open view', being 'spacious', 'well equipped with recreational facilities' and 'convenient for transport'. This reflects the fact that their values correspond to the symbols manipulated by 'professional persuaders' (Packard, 1957/1981: 14). The conditions described in the advertisement appeared to satisfy the participants' aspirations towards

upward mobility in social status (*ibid.*: 106).

Participants seemed to attach less importance to whether the building was a high-rise or not, compared with other living conditions, since the category ‘high-rise, multi-storey buildings that accommodate many families’ (55.6%) scored relatively lower than other categories. According to Liu Tian Hua (2005: 6), the difference between Western and Chinese architecture lies in their vertical and lateral development respectively, although there was no hint from the responses that participants were aware of this. In contemporary Hong Kong, apartments with more interior space are of a higher commercial value and are more desired.

Participants seemed to evaluate contemporary and traditional lifestyles using different criteria. Space in the ‘contemporary’ type of accommodation meant its interior comforts, while space in the ‘traditional’ house meant outside space, which was provided by natural resources. One participant stated:

There was an ample supply of land in the past (Helen, who imagined living in a traditional house, extracted from discussion record).

All the participants had a strong preference for an ‘open view’, because only luxurious apartments or high value apartments are able to offer open views. Given the high density of city buildings in Hong Kong, apartments with open views are rare. However, traditional houses built in the past are usually scattered around valleys or hills in remote areas. According to *fengshui*⁴ (geomancy) practice, the best location for dwellings is at the foot of high mountains, hence giving them a view of the mountain.

⁴ *Fengshui* 風水 is translated variously as geomancy/topomancy/astro-ecology/ topographical siting/siting/mystical ecology/natural science of the landscape (Knapp, 1999: 30).

This explains why participants were unable clearly to differentiate whether the two types of accommodation were the same (44.4%) or different (55.6%) with regard to ‘open view’.

Participants’ knowledge about the height of traditional Chinese houses was rather vague: some participants merely described them as ‘lower’; one had mistaken the three-storey ‘Spanish Villa’, a Western-style building popular in the rural area since the colonial period, for the traditional Chinese house. Many participants (55.6%) were able to mention the courtyard structure of this type of vernacular architecture and the function of this design: for example, it was described as a ‘natural ventilation system incorporated in the design of courtyard houses’ (Appendix III Table 7.3); it had ‘limited windows’ and a ‘limited outside view’ (Appendix III Table 7.1). A few, however, confused it with other types of building: for example, one participant mentioned that ‘[food could be] stored in the “cellar”’ (Appendix III Table 7.4) (cellars were not common in vernacular architecture in Hong Kong). Another participant mentioned the existence of ‘watchtowers at the “four corners” of a house’ (Appendix III Table 7.7) (watchtowers were only common in walled villages in Hong Kong, and not in residential lodgings such as the Tai Fu Tai); and ‘the availability of a beacon tower’ (Appendix III Table 7.7) (the idea of the ‘beacon tower’ came from the legend *A Kingdom Lost for a Concubine’s Smile*⁵. There were no beacon towers in HK). These responses reflect the participants’ limited knowledge of Chinese culture and local

⁵ The story *A Kingdom Lost for a Concubine’s Smile* was about King You of the Zhou dynasty (1122-256 BC), who ordered the beacon fire to be lit in the hope of pleasing his concubine, Baosi (Tang, 1984: 38-39). It is a popular children’s tale in Hong Kong.

architectural traditions. They mixed up information obtained from stories with what was actually the case in their own context. They were not able to distinguish imported culture from that which had a local origin. The inaccuracy of their views was a direct result of their lack of knowledge, and as with Weber, this limited knowledge of Chinese tradition led to the development of negative opinions and inferior values being attached to traditional Chinese culture.

Participants' orientation to 'modern' or 'traditional' lifestyle in relation to support facilities

Participants had a strong tendency to identify with the modern lifestyle when it came to the facilities supporting their basic needs (see Appendix III Table 7.2). Most of them (ranging from 55.6% to 100%) listed the demand for facilities with up-to-date technologies, such as TV, air-conditioning and so on.

For advertisers, each domestic item is symbolic. The availability of a refrigerator means that there is food in the house and thus a refrigerator is associated with security, warmth and safety at home (Packard, 1957/1981: 67). When an air-conditioner is installed, some people feel secure because windows can be closed at night 'so that nothing "threatening" can enter', but some may see it as a 'threat' because it has 'sealed' up their world. Alternatively, advertisers promote the idea of a closed world ensuring 'freedom from the strains of interpersonal relationships' (*ibid.*: 67). TV sets are necessary because they are regarded as a 'second education system' for children (*ibid.*: 237). The participants' list matched very closely the view of an ideal house provided by a Swiss participant (see Appendix IV), showing the possibility of Western influence

in the Hong Kong participants' attachment to the contemporary lifestyle. The items she mentioned included: location and convenience, household facilities, availability of rooms, security devices and so on. It appears that the participants have become used to the convenient lifestyle of the contemporary era. Gary Day (2001: 60) theorises that the 'capitalist system' restructures 'the self' 'through the operation of exchange'. The exchange value of a commodity corresponds to the appropriate form of identity perceived by the 'self'.

Participants were well aware that modern facilities were not available in the traditional life of the old days, except for the availability of sitting rooms (88.9%) and individual bedrooms (88.9%). However, they did not know that for security reasons windows in the traditional house only looked out over the interior courtyard space. Most participants (66.7%) indicated that 'windows on different sides for illumination and ventilation' were available. This again reflects their limited knowledge about the traditional house ⁶.

With regard to contemporary ways of solving daily living problems (see Appendix III Tables 7.3 to 7.5), the information participants provided mainly concerned artefacts such as 'refrigerators', 'flush toilets', and so on. With regard to the 'traditional' lifestyle, the artefacts listed were 'night stool', 'spittoon' and 'wooden tubs'. Practices that are often featured in Hong Kong films and TV dramas, such as 'carrying water',

⁶ The door and windows face south... create satisfactory passive solar conditions; ventilation... is facilitated by the use of skywells and verandas. Skywells are sunken spaces which form an open shaft to capture ambient breezes and bring them into the dwelling. Movable partitions frequently divide the inner space of southern dwellings, to heighten air circulation (Knapp, 1990: 8, 21, 22).

‘hiring someone to dispose of the night soil’, as well as traditions that still exist today, such as ways of preserving food, were emphasised. Participants were unable to provide more in-depth information about the significant structure of the traditional Chinese house such as the illumination and ventilation systems. This might be because they were not familiar with these ‘extinguished’ traditions. Despite the adverse conditions of the traditional house identified by the participants, Helen still expressed an interest in living in the rural area. In the discussion record she stated, ‘[Regarding my “dream house”], I have two contrasting ideas. One is to be located in a rural area, feeling carefree and easy’. When she was reminded that she could only have one choice, she modified her answer: ‘perhaps a rural “feel” house with “super” IT facilities [will do]’. As Shils (1981: 54) points out, although it is difficult for people to detach themselves from ‘the pleasures and compulsions of the present world, they cannot completely divest themselves of the traditions which have imprinted themselves on their minds’.

Participants’ orientation to modernist identity or traditional Chinese identity in relation to family culture

Allocation of bedrooms among family members:

According to Knapp (1990: 51), the ‘space’ in a Chinese dwelling was defined according to the family structure, rather than to cater for individual needs and use). As previously discussed, the family is part of the Chinese social structure conceptualised in etiquette advocated by Confucius. It was considered as the link between the self and the nation.

Most of the information given by participants on the ‘traditional’ method of room allocation was either too brief (see Appendix III Table 7.6) or did not conform to the hierarchical mode of practice⁷ described by Knapp. This reflects the participants’ superficial understanding of the traditions involved in Chinese vernacular houses.

In the ideal lifestyle described by these participants, the parents were expected to occupy a ‘larger’ room. Their understanding of the need for an economical use of space in Hong Kong had a great effect on the participants. Some of them (33.3%) preferred ‘sharing a room among siblings’ (see Appendix III Table 7.6). It seems that male dominance and the privileges of the elders in room allocation have diminished in the contemporary Chinese family. The participants’ remarks:

Helen: Generally speaking, when there are a brother and a sister, the larger room is usually reserved for the younger sister.

Joanna: Usually there is only one room. Three brothers and sisters occupy the same room.

Helen: [This happens] only when they are young. When they grow up, usually the largest room is for the youngest sister (extracted from the discussion record).

⁷ The hierarchical system which operated in the Chinese house is analysed by Knapp as follows:
... living space is ordered so as to delineate status-based generation, gender, and sibling relationships. Hierarchy is linked to upper/lower, left/right, and inner/outer associations, all fundamental components of li 禮, or ritual.
The senior generation normally occupies the south-facing and interior-most structure, which also contains the ancestral hall at its core. Throughout many parts of China, the bedroom [dafang 大房] to stage left of the central altar-bearing hall was traditionally reserved for parents. The eldest son and his bride would move into the complementary room on the right side of the main hall. Young children usually lived in side halls, sometimes segregated by sex. The number and sex of children as well as the family’s fortune determined the number of sleeping rooms and any necessary rotation because of marriages. Within the cellular form of a siheyuan [courtyard house 四合院], the spatial manifestations of open or closed, front or back, above or below, and distance from the center not only echoed but also helped regulate traditional Chinese social relationships (Knapp, 1999: 11).

For traditional Chinese, there was a strong wish for family members to live together, but some of the participants did not like to have a large family or large group of people living together. One participant rejected the ‘hierarchical system [which] operated in the family’ in the past. Participants preferred small families or to live by themselves (see Appendix III Table 7.11). One participant, Helen, said:

I don’t want to live with my family. In the past people liked to live under the same roof. Now we wish to live as far apart as possible (Helen, participant, in response to question on contemporary lifestyle, extracted).

Skeggs (2004: 174) believes that ‘[a]ll concepts of personhood and personality are structured through concepts of property, which rely on systems of knowledge’. Helen’s desire for private space away from the family home indicates her need to own her ‘property’ which will define her ‘self-identity’, ‘territory’ and ‘entitlements’, as suggested by Skeggs.

Defending oneself from outsiders and communicating with visitors

When discussing measures to defend themselves from outsiders, participants listed certain aspects of building structure and also a dependence on human input (for example ‘patrolled by servants’, ‘taking care of each other’) in the traditional context (see Appendix III Table 7.7). Their answers concerning the ‘traditional’ lifestyle were quite diverse; however, the essential elements of this architecture, such as ‘protective walls’ and ‘screen doors’ (devices to defend against evil spirits) were not mentioned.

In the contemporary context, the participants’ major concern was with advanced technological devices: for example ‘Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)’, ‘intercom

facilities' and a 'security code locking system'. Davis criticises the increasing number of electronic devices and systems in the contemporary era which put other people under surveillance (Davis, 1990: 223). These imaginary intrusions make the family 'a symbol of resistance' (Skeggs, 2004: 217). Since property is 'defined through exclusivity, sovereignty, self-identity, law, territory, boundaries, title and unity' (*ibid.*: 174), the "right" of property becomes 'a right to exclusion, [and] also a simultaneous right of access, of entitlement'. This has affected class relations between people (*ibid.*: 175). I think the restrictions on face-to-face contact and the increasing use of electronic devices have greatly affected the interpersonal relationships of Hong Kong people.

Participants' views on the contemporary lifestyle revealed that their communication, personal behaviour and interpersonal relationships are mediated by electronic devices (see Appendix III Table 7.8). Since interpersonal relationships have become distanced by these media, human interaction during the process of communication was barely mentioned by participants.

To Gergens (1991: 64), the home has been redefined by electronic communication systems. Relationships are no longer restricted by specific geographic location. Electronic transmissions generate new formations of cultural space and restructure experiences of time. The new technology can expand relationships through wide-reaching communications which are in continual motion. However, technological advancements also reduce the time spent in conducting interpersonal relationships. In the evening many people are engaged in using telephones, televisions

or computer/internet facilities. Relationships between family members become remote (*ibid.*: 66).

Participants' responses regarding the 'traditional' lifestyle focused very much on human interactions. They provided information about the context: for example, 'face-to-face'; about actions taken: for example, 'shout loudly'; and about how messages were transmitted: for example, 'sending messages by pigeon'. In Gergen's view, members of a traditional society knew each other well because they had plenty of face-to-face contact and good interpersonal relationships could be built up. Affairs were normalised and a pattern of satisfaction could be achieved, although this was accompanied by a 'high degree of informal surveillance' (Gergen, 1991: 66).

Some of the participants' responses seem to have been drawn from their experiences elsewhere, such as those associated with the Tenement House 唐樓, a Western-style building popular between 1903 and 1955 (Chan C., 2005: 50-56). This is reflected in the following responses: '[communication] 'through the spy hole/small hole' (there were spy holes in the Tenement House but not in traditional Chinese houses).

To participants, 'communication' in the traditional Chinese world meant more than the communication devices of contemporary life. In different contexts different traditions related to identities were involved. This can be illustrated by the participants' selection of possible reactions by a host to his friends and to strangers. To strangers or to trespassers he would 'shout loudly'; with friends or guests, he arranged 'face-to-face' chats, or he would 'send servants to serve the guests' according to

established traditions, as demonstrations of status and wealth. Shils (1981: 54) believes that contemporary people cannot get rid of traditions because they are formed by them. However, the traditions described by the participants in this research might not be those associated with the Tai Fu Tai and might not have been those transmitted by their ancestors. There is a possibility that they had mixed up traditions from elsewhere, from different periods and different contexts. But it was certain that they had received various traditions from the past through a variety of channels which had shaped their impressions of the past.

Participants' knowledge of the fears of people in the past and the way the desires of people in the past were presented in the traditional house

A Chinese house displays a rich range of ornaments. They are distributed almost everywhere in the house, especially at the entrance, and on the walls and roof. They serve both as devices to ward off evil spirits and indications of wishes for prosperity. According to Knapp (1999: 54-72), common defensive objects in the Chinese house are: 'three-pointed tridents' (*sancha* 三叉), the 'Eight Trigrams' (*bagua* 八卦) and 'door deities' (*menshen* 門神). This culture is closely related to Chinese art because the symbolic significance of these themes remains the major area of expression in most Chinese art. There was a rich array of symbolic motifs used in a traditional Chinese house, which was familiar to Chinese people in the past. For example, good fortune (*fu* 福) was represented by bats, butterflies and tigers; emolument (*lu* 祿) was represented by deer; and longevity (*shou* 壽) was represented by cranes, pine trees and

peaches. The motifs of these decorations reveal 'a sense of roots' and 'immortality' (Knapp, 1999: 102-155). Today there is a gradual decline in using these devices among the rural people in Hong Kong because of the disputes they cause among neighbours, and the influence of modernist thought, which considers these objects to be associated with superstition.

Participants suggested that people in the past were scared of 'bandits, ghosts and evils, natural disasters and the breaking of family bonds' (see Appendix III Table 7.9). Perhaps participants rarely came into contact with the above-mentioned practices in their daily lives and therefore these objects were beyond the scope of their imagination.

In response to the question about how people could identify the desires of the owner of the traditional house, only two participants (22.2%) were able to state that these desires were conveyed through decorations or carvings on the house. They were able to list only a few of the meanings involved. Nobody mentioned where these decorations were located or how these desires were represented. The focus of their answers was on the size of the family and aspirations concerning the achievements of descendants; interpersonal relationships within the family, including filial respect and harmony; and the desire for wealth (see Appendix III Table 7.10).

There are many images that appeared on the walls or door panels of the traditional house, which also appear in prints for Chinese New Year decorations at the present time. However, participants were unable to identify the relationship between these and the traditional house. Knapp (1989: 177) notes the disorientation of Chinese youth away from their traditional culture. He writes:

For many of the young people, the symbols are opaque and obsolete, mere ornamentation

without meaning. Many of China's youth are ambiguously insecure about the past with a ready willingness to abandon it and adopt whatever is considered superior because of its foreign or technological origin.

Under the influence of globalisation, the beliefs of people in Hong Kong have changed. People are used to the 'absent others' (as Giddens (1994/1997: 89) calls them) through the abstract systems (for example, banking) which operate in our everyday lives). 'The intrusion of distance into local activities' has transformed the concept of 'place' (*ibid.*: 187). Hong Kong people no longer need high walls and small windows to seclude themselves from the outside world as their ancestors did. This phenomenon seems to conform to the theory of globalisation as 'the homogenizing of culture' that has led to the dismissal of local cultures and the Westernisation of the globe. However, Schirato and Webb (2003: 154) argue that there is no such thing as global culture because of the non-existence of common 'global memories', a 'global way of thinking' or a 'universal history' to unite people. They suggest that globalisation may '[regenerate] traditional practices' and other 'forms of cultural production' and lead to 'hybridization' (*ibid.*: 157).

The results indicate that contemporary people have become so used to aspects of modern technology that they could not imagine living without them: telephones, entertainment, amenities, convenient transport and the like. However, the continuation of some Chinese traditions could still be identified: for example, the belief in *fengshui* and having decorations in the house. On the whole, participants made a clear distinction between the lifestyles of contemporary and traditional Chinese. They possessed limited knowledge about traditional life in the past. Their orientation to the

modernist style of living was clear. They were highly influenced by the commodified lifestyle and dependent on the technological advancements of the contemporary world. The desire to improve the quality of daily life necessities was considered a common ideal in both contemporary and traditional life, although there was more demand for entertainment, convenience and high technology in contemporary life.

Participants' responses reveal that they have detached themselves from past Chinese family traditions and that they possess an impression of Hong Kong Chinese traditions which is mixed up with traditions from other locations or periods. The same phenomenon appeared when they described the cultures of people from other parts of the world about which they possessed limited knowledge, as discussed in Chapter Six. This issue has to be viewed in the educational and social context of the participants. As Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 198) point out, the education system has the function of conserving the 'interest of the dominant classes', and maintaining the social order. Its success is marked by 'the happy unconsciousness of elective affinities' and a recurrent cycle of 'the reproduction of the social order'.

The participants had been brought up in the transition period between the colonial and post-colonial eras, when there was strong 'rural-urban tension' and the 'rural' was being rejected and discriminated against (Hung, 2001: 196, 184). Nevertheless, participants did not express a total rejection of the family culture transmitted by their ancestors. There were some elements of that tradition that they still appreciated, such as the desires for a loving family, for close relationships among family members, for living in peace and harmony; and good wishes towards descendants. Their perceptions of their identities shifted according to different circumstances. This result suggests a

mixture of the modern and traditional: that is, 'fragmented' and 'incoherent' (Friedman, 1992/1998: 361-362) postmodern selves.

The next chapter will discuss the participants' perceptions of gender roles, stereotypes and their views on feminist art.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER ISSUES AND FEMINIST ART IN HONG KONG

This chapter examines participants' perceptions of their identity in relation to gender issues. In order to provide a background to this examination, I have given a general account of the situation of women in the process of modernisation in China; of gender roles, education and spheres of work in Chinese traditions; as well as presenting a contrast between Hong Kong and Western feminism. There was a dispute about whether women should be regarded as backward in modernist discourse. The reference to women as 'parasites' in the old system of fighting for the rights of women does not seem appropriate owing to the role of colonialism and Orientalism in bringing about women's subordination. Besides, oppressed women were unaware of the mechanisms of control in these systems of domination. This background information will help to give the reader a clearer understanding of gender issues in Hong Kong.

Chinese scholars such as Tseng Pao Sun [Zeng Baosun] claimed that women's problems had been alleviated in early twentieth-century China and failed to notice that mechanisms of subordination had simply been transformed. Western influence is credited with the liberation of Chinese women. The idea of 'freedom in love' and the popularity of the 'nuclear family' are changes resulting from Western influence, referred to by Chinese scholars such as Tseng Pao Sun, Li Yu Ning, Chen Heng Che [Chen Hengche], and Ng Chun Hung. The opening up of China to the outside world changed the lives of many, both females and males. However, for women, this change also

signified the shifting of the dependence of the oppressed from one coloniser to another: that is, from the dominant local male coloniser to the superior Western modernist coloniser. The struggle between Chinese and Western values remains a significant issue in the Chinese people's perception of their own identity to the present day; hence the need for this research.

In this research, perspectives on these issues are examined through reference to two examples of feminist art in Hong Kong, followed by an examination of Hong Kong participants' views of gender stereotypes, as well as their perceptions of feminist art. These topics also served the educational purpose of making participants aware of gender issues related to art as well as in their daily life.

Data revealed that participants had adopted some Western values while retaining some Chinese traditions, thus making their lifestyle a hybrid of both cultures. There were differences between the views of the female and male participants regarding familial matters, gender roles, job stereotypes, feminist art and so on. Male participants tended to protect their privilege of patriarchal domination or avoid discussing sensitive issues. Female participants tended on occasion to fight for their rights, but at the same time they seemed to be attached to past traditional values regarding familial relationships. They expected their male counterparts to adhere to traditional values too. In this way, female participants seemed to maintain a passive stance in the face of past patriarchal traditions.

I. BACKGROUND TO FEMINISM IN HONG KONG

In most modernist discourses about Chinese traditions women were generally featured as the source of 'backwardness'. Issues such as foot-binding, the suppression of the freedom of widows to remarry (Chen, 1932/1992: 61) and the illiteracy of women (issue identified by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao [Liang Qichao], 1897) came under serious attack by Chinese scholars, making women the scapegoat of traditionalism. A famous and enlightened male Chinese scholar, Mr Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, wrote in 1897:

...I think the illiteracy of women must be the root cause of our nation's weakness... Two hundred million women are dependants, and none has engaged in any productive labour. Because they cannot support themselves and have to depend on others for a living... women are in a pitiful position. However, men are also in an unenviable position because they have to work hard to support their women dependants (cited in Li Y. N., 1981/1992: 104).

Simultaneously, women are also 'targets' for the 'colonialist and nationalist' to work on (Loomba, 1998/2005: 222). Colonialism was justified by the claim that women had been rescued from 'patriarchal domination' under the 'civilizing mission' of the Europeans (*ibid.*: 171). With this mission of civilising his 'backward' peers, Liang appears to have been an internal agent of the modernists. As McClintock (1995: 358) suggests, with women representing the 'backward' national tradition and men being seen as 'the progressive agent of national modernity', the problem between the progressive present and the underdeveloped past can be resolved. The 'dichotomies of spiritual/material, home/world, feminine/masculine' involved in the colonialist and nationalist discourses are constructed to serve this purpose (Chatterjee, 1993: 134).

However, Li Yu Ning (1981/1992: 104), a female historian in Taiwan, argues that this

view of women has distorted the lives and contributions of Chinese women. Women consistently contribute as much as their male counterparts. Li provides copious historical evidence to prove that women were diligent, literate, productive in the home and in economic life, referring, for instance to the four thousand women authors in ancient China identified by Hu Wen Kai¹. Besides, many women earned a living through handicrafts and from agricultural work such as picking tea leaves, rearing cattle or working in the fields (*ibid.*: 105-106). Li attempts to build up a positive image of women quite different from that of Liang. From the 1930s onwards, Chinese scholars like Hu Shih [Hu Shi] (1931/1992), Lin Yu Tang [Lin Yutang] (1935/1992) and Tseng Pao Sun [Zeng Baosun] (1931/1992) attempted to correct distorted concepts of women by listing the positive practices and showing the value of women in past history. Their obvious resistance to forming an idea of women as the Other seems to be advantageous, because although women's living conditions could be improved by the acknowledgement of their problems, adverse descriptions of them lead to further marginalisation. Li Yu Ning (1981/1992: 104), for example, drew attention to the 'evolution' of tradition alongside these 'revolutions' as being part of the cause of change in China. However, Li and the other scholars seem to have been unaware of the marginalising effect of Western hegemony on their own culture. A discussion of the problem from multiple perspectives is necessary.

¹ The twentieth-century scholar, Hu Wen Kai 胡文楷, listed more than four thousand women writers in his book *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* 歷代婦女著作考 (*Works by Women in Dynastic China*). In his opinion, the best of these was the Song poet Li Qingzhao 李清照 (Li Y. N., 1981/1992: 105).

In traditional Chinese philosophy men and women were seen as being born unequal and therefore they were treated differently. The metaphors for greeting the birth of a boy: 'the joy of playing with jade'; and for a girl: 'the joy of playing with tiles' (ideas originated from 'Si Gan', *Minor Odes of the Kingdom*) have been handed down from the 6th Century BC until now. These metaphors reflect the persistence of the oppression of females in Chinese tradition. The 'three obediences' ² (including obeying father, husband and son) and 'four virtues' ³ (including 'womanly virtue', 'womanly words', 'womanly bearing' and 'womanly work'), advocated by Confucius and his followers, were strictly enforced. Under the weighty influence of Confucianism, women assumed their prescribed roles and became highly self-disciplined.

Although to a different degree, in the West the independent selfhood of women was also suppressed in a similar way. De Beauvoir (1949: 75-76) observed:

... she is always under the guardianship of the males. The only question is whether the woman after marriage will remain subject to the authority of her father or of her older brother - an authority that will extend also to her children - or whether she will become subject to that of her husband.

² The 'three obediences' were presented in the 'Jiao Te Xing' section of the *Liji* [*Book of Rites*]:

The woman follows (and obeys) the man:-in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son (*Liji*)^{W21}.

³ In the third chapter, 'Respect and Caution', of *Precepts for Women (Nü Jie)*, Ban Zhao of the Former Han dynasty (AD 45-115) listed four 'womanly qualifications' to be possessed by women, including: 'womanly virtue, womanly words, womanly bearing and womanly work'. One of the requirements for a woman's virtue is 'to control circumspectly her behaviour'. As for 'womanly bearing', there was no need for her to be pretty but simply to be clean and tidy^{W22}.

The Chinese were concerned with a woman's self-discipline and virtues. Ban Zhao suggested the precept 'to counteract firmness nothing equals compliance'⁴ reflected the fact that the 'compliance' of women in the face of male dominance was a matter of survival. In the West, de Beauvoir (1949: 718) regarded women's obedience to the established 'feminine tradition' as a retreat from independence because women felt 'insecure in the masculine universe'. She also argued that using 'muscular weakness' as a reason for men's domination over women was 'the imperialism of the human consciousness' (*ibid.*: 60). It seems that gender differences in both China and the West grew out of male domination.

Many scholars, such as Croll (1995), Li Yu Ning (1981/1992), Knapp (1999) and Gallagher (2001), focus on the Yin and Yang theory in their discussions of Chinese gender relationships. The cosmic and human relationships operating in the Yin and Yang system were established as early as the Warring States Period (475-221 BC), as described in the *Book of Changes* (*Yi Jing*). Men and women were seen as being related but of different kinds. Yin (female) represented the 'earth, and all that was negative': for example, the 'female, dark, dead'; while Yang (male) was associated with 'heaven and all that was positive, male, light, living' (Mitchell & Wu, 1998: 12). The two forces were seen to complement each other. They join to form a complete whole (that is, the 'absolute' [*Taiji*]) and thus harmony can be achieved.

⁴ In the third chapter, 'Respect and Caution', of *Precepts for Women* (*Nü Jie*), Ban Zhao writes:

The distinctive quality of the Yang is rigidity; the function of the Yin is yielding.

Man is honoured for strength; a woman is beautiful on account of her gentleness.

Ban Zhao believed that 'to counteract firmness nothing equals compliance' and so a woman should be 'humble' to the 'master', husband.

Up until the present day, the concepts of Yin and Yang are still widely accepted among Chinese theorists studying *fengshui* (geomancy) (Duane, 1997; Lip, 1979; Knapp, 1990; Knapp, 1999); the Chinese family and society (Cope-Kasten, 2001); and architecture (Mitchell & Wu, 1998; Knapp, 1999). However, many scholars taking feminist studies strongly object to the concepts of the Yin and Yang theory (Croll, 1995; Gallagher, 2001). They reject the idea that women should constantly be positioned on the inferior side of the dualism and object to the description of women as weak, passive and subordinate.

In discussing the association of women with the concepts of 'Earth' and 'Goddess', de Beauvoir (1949) claims that in this way women are placed outside the realm of human beings. She thinks that there is no essential difference between men and women. She rejects the idea that gender differences are inborn. For her, it is the actions of civilisation that create and shape differences between men and women. These actions include the 'dramas of birth' (*ibid.*: 281), the child's 'stories, playthings' or other experiences (*ibid.*: 297), and a woman's subjugation to a 'new master' in her later life (*ibid.*: 346). These experiences are comparable to Chinese practices: for instance, giving boys pieces of jade to play with, and girls pieces of broken tile, and to the precept concerning women proposed by Ban Zhao, mentioned above.

In contradistinction to this view, Li Yu Ning (1981/1992: 113) perceives Yin and Yang as a 'positive influence' on the position of women, since women make a contribution to the creations of the universe equal to that of men. Along the same lines, the slogan 'half of heaven' to represent women was introduced in the early years of communist China. Women were said to have an 'equal entitlement' to 'heaven', which

up until then had been the sacred space of men, because 'heaven' encompasses 'both the sun and the moon' (Croll, 1995: 69). However, women's status, and concepts of their role, did not improve. Women in China remained 'strangers to heaven', as de Beauvoir described it, because 'heaven' is a male-defined space, with the qualities of the female forever outside its sphere. Although there have been significant changes in the roles of women since the beginning of the twentieth century, after marriage women are still occupied with 'new or added domestic responsibilities'. Moreover, when a woman moves away from her natal family to live with her husband's family, a sense of discontinuity and dislocation results. Ironically, the relationship and equilibrium between the forces of Yin and Yang do not result in harmony between the two sexes because neither sex is willing to be represented as the Other, the dark side of the universe. This is related to the 'pattern of exclusion' based on 'class, ethnicity, religion and gender' through 'collective representations' of stereotypes (Berting, 1995: 149).

The Chinese attitude towards the notion of Yin and Yang is complicated. Yin and Yang carry multiple meanings and conflicting concepts. They remain as common icons to be used to attack superstitions (such as in fortune-telling) but at the same time they are a mark of Chinese civilisation (for example, these concepts are used in Chinese medical science).

Male and female education

De Beauvoir (1949: 484) rejects different training for the two genders because this would hinder their mutual understanding and conflicts would be likely to arise between

them. It is difficult to imagine a man, traditionally seen as being endowed with the positive qualities of ‘a teacher, a guide’, a guardian of ‘truth’, being able to share his experiences with his wife, who was seen as possessing ‘shameful, grotesque, objectionable, or upsetting’ qualities (*ibid.*: 484-5). In ancient China likewise, there was a celebration of the ignorance of women, which is reflected in the Chinese colloquial saying: ‘lack of talent is a virtue in women’⁵ (Lin, 1935: 105). Parents generally opposed women’s education. Since married women would move out, any investment in them was regarded as pointless. A similar view was expressed in the common folk saying that ‘Girls are goods on whom one loses money’ (Gallagher, 2001: 93). To counteract these views, many Chinese scholars listed women poets and authors in past history as evidence of women’s education and their literary knowledge⁶. The early education of Chinese women emphasised their cultivation as civilised individuals who would become good intellectual companions for their future mates rather than simply serving them. Tseng Pao Sun (1931/1992: 82), a Western-trained Chinese female educator, suggested establishing the subject of ‘needlework and cookery’ especially for girls in order to prepare them for their future home life.

⁵ The proverb ‘lack of talent is a virtue in women’ was probably invented in the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644) and remained popular until the Qing dynasty.

⁶ Examples of female literary figures in the past are: the female poet Li Qingzhao (AD 1081-1140), the novelist Li Juchen (AD 1763-1830) and the historian Ban Zhao (AD 45-115) (Hu, 1931; Lin, 1935; Tseng, 1931; Ayscough, 1938).

Gender roles and spheres of work

In Confucius' teachings the maintenance of social order was achieved by the cultivation of individuals and the regulation of the family (see Chapter 7). Owing to the 'patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal'⁷ nature of traditional China, women were destined to be controlled by and dependent on males throughout their lives. 'Unlike men, women did not have a permanent place, assigned at birth, in any group' (Gallagher, 2001: 90). Other than being a wife or mother, a woman had no rights of her own (Tseng, 1931: 78). Besides, as set out in 'The family' (Jia Ren) in the *Book of Changes* (*Yi Jing*)⁸ (written in the 6th century BC), women were assigned to occupy the 'domestic inner realm' while men dominated the 'outer realm' of social relationships. This mode of life persisted until the 1990s (Knapp, 1999: 11-12). The symbolic meaning of a family as equivalent to the imaginary 'unity of interests' of a nation made the 'subordination of woman to man and child to adult' natural within the concept of nationalism (McClintock, 1995: 357).

⁷ 'Patriarchal' refers to a form of social organisation in which males have the supreme power, prestige and authority; a social system in which men dominate women.

'Patrilineal' refers to descent traced through the male line only.

'Patrilocal' refers to 'living with the husband's relatives after marriage' (Gallagher, 2001: 103).

⁸ The restriction of women to domestic activities was established as early as the 6th century BC, as stated in 'The family' (*Jia ren*) section of the *Book of Changes* (*Yi Jing*). 'It says in the 'Tuan': "In [the family] the wife has her correct place in the inner, and the man his correct place in the outer. That man and woman occupy their correct places is the great righteousness shown (in the relation and position) of heaven and earth"' (*Yi Jing*, The family, Legge (trans.), 1992: 163).

Limits to women's individualism

De Beauvoir (1949: 448) queries the universality of 'self-fulfillment' because she sees it as being confined to men. For a woman, marriage represents merely transference from certain males to other males, such as her father-in-law and son-in-law. She goes on to say that a woman's existence is justified by marriage through her given title, home and social status by affiliation to her husband. The maintenance of a woman by her husband is considered to be a reward for her 'service' in satisfying his sexual needs and in running 'his household' (*ibid.*: 449). In this way, 'marriage' becomes a 'career', a stepping-stone to economic and social advancement for girls (*ibid.*: 452). This advantage encourages women's dependence on men and also increases their oppression. By contrast, a man's 'economic success' virtually guarantees his marriage opportunities (*ibid.*: 453). It seems obvious that while they are still bound by expected roles in the family, women will not experience independence and freedom in their married life.

The difference between traditional Western and Chinese philosophies lay in the Western emphasis on individuals' rights and independence, and the corresponding Chinese emphasis on the network of human relationships (Cope-Dasten, 2001: 45).

Under the influence of modernism, issues of freedom and individualism⁹ stirred up many debates among the Chinese. The traditional family system came under serious

⁹ Taylor (1991: 4) defines 'Individualism' as the 'right [of people] to choose for themselves their own pattern of life, to decide in conscience what convictions to espouse and to determine the shape of their lives in a whole host of ways'. 'In principle people are no longer sacrificed to the demands of supposedly sacred orders that transcend them'. 'People are called upon to be true to themselves and to seek their own self-fulfillment' (*ibid.*: 14).

attack in the twentieth century. Wu Yu (1872-1949) condemned Confucian values¹⁰ as the ‘guardian of the [social] class system’ (Ono, 1978/1989: 97).

In the midst of this tension between East and West, as well as between modernist and traditional values, Tseng Pao Sun (1931/1992: 85-86) rejected denationalisation but proposed integrating ‘desirable old Chinese ideals, such as maternal love and wifely devotion’ with the good aspects of Western culture, such as ‘training in arts, science and philosophy’. The ‘new ideal of womanhood’ for the modern Chinese woman was: to have freedom but be ‘restrained by self-control’. Her ‘self-realization’ should be ‘coupled with self-sacrifice’. Her individualism should be ‘circumscribed with family duty’. In other words, there should be a balance of ‘freedom with self-discipline, and individualism with dedication to the family and the nation’ (*ibid.*: 72). This notion of freedom is different from the ‘self-determining choice without any boundary, nor anyone’s influence of its content’ described by Taylor (1991: 27, 68, 14). Thus a hybridity of values integrating Western modernity with traditional Chinese wifely virtues was constructed.

¹⁰ Confucianism: A philosophical world view in which the idea of the family is central to an understanding of the nature of reality and of how to live. Its origins are attributed to Confucius (551-479 BC), and it has survived in China to the present day. Confucianism is centrally concerned with creating harmonious order, in ourselves and in society (Cope-Kasten, 2001: 55).

Having been convinced by Western thought, Wu Yu 吳虞 (1872-1949) regarded individuals as being oppressed in the patrilineal society and the family system as being ‘the foundation of authoritarianism’ (Ono, 1978/1989: 95). He condemned Confucianism by associating it with ‘non-Confucian values’: for example, the use of Confucianism as the ‘guardian of the [social] “class” system’ by politicians (*ibid.*: 97).

Economic self-support and independence

The need for economic independence for women is widely supported by scholars (Tseng, 1931/1992; de Beauvoir, 1949; Loomba, 1998/2005). De Beauvoir (1949: 504) maintained that the domination of men was inevitable if financial dependency on men persisted. In the last fifty years or so, women in Hong Kong have been able to take jobs outside the family structure and to 'control family spending' (Gallagher, 2001: 101), although 'the husband [is] still regarded as the head or 'major breadwinner' of the family' among professional couples in Hong Kong (Martin, 1997: 203) . This may seem to affirm her social status and to be a move towards equality. But in fact it has merely multiplied her tasks. The life of women is not easier than before. Women are now sharing the financial burden of supporting the family in addition to their domestic duties. They play a dual role: both inside and outside the home.

Gender and colonialism

From a feminist perspective, the man in a patriarchal society appears as 'the sovereign subject, the absolute superior, the essential being' (de Beauvoir, 1949: 753). Woman remains the antithesis of man and 'the absolute Other'. The 'subject' requires the 'object' to fulfil his desires and maintain his sense of well-being (*ibid.*: 149); at the same time the Other is a 'threat, a danger'. In order to survive under male domination, the woman has to restrain herself from being an active subject (*ibid.*: 717), playing her role as an 'opaque' Other (*ibid.*: 753), and taking the stances simultaneously of both self and Other.

In discussing gender issues, Geraldine Moane (1999), a psychologist and feminist,

argues that the superiority of man to woman is comparable to the relationship of the coloniser to the colonised. Both woman and the colonised suffer from the adverse effect of stereotypes generated as 'cultural products' (*ibid.*: 27). The coloniser and the colonised are interrelated and interdependent because each requires the participation and influence of the other for the continuation of domination and subordination. The relationships between patriarchy and colonialism are multi-faceted: 'colonialism operates in a patriarchal context'; colonialism is involved in the gendering process; 'colonialism and patriarchy reinforce each other' as systems of domination; and the same mechanisms of domination can be applied in both contexts (*ibid.*: 33). Borrowing Boahen (1987) and Ferro's (1997) ideas, Moane (1999: 33) defines colonialism as 'the systematic domination of one territory by another. [Colonialism] is itself a form of domination which has evolved and changed historically, and which has taken different forms geographically and culturally'.

The case of Hong Kong

The major current conception regarding sons and daughters is reflected in a study by Ng Chun Hung (2004: 235), which found that: 'Sons were seen as assets in which to invest; daughters as a tool for current economic gain'. This means that the emphasis on a son's education arises from concern with his future job and his ability to support his family in later life; daughters are expected to marry into another family and therefore their support of their natal family is only temporary.

This conception is changing. Industrialisation provides increased opportunities for education and employment. Men and women share financial responsibility for

their families. Nuclear families ¹¹ are very common in Hong Kong now. However, according to reports from recent surveys ¹², the movement to the nuclear family has not removed every obstacle and inequality. 'Industrialization does not bring unmitigated advancement for women' (Ng C. H., 2004: 232). 'Hong Kong remains a very traditional Chinese society despite its cosmopolitan veneer' (*ibid.*: 228). Women still face many constraints and difficulties in and outside the family. In the years of my initial teacher training in the 1970s, married women were not permitted to study in the teacher training institutes, and women teachers received less pay than their male counterparts. Thanks to the work of the labour unions and other social organisations, the working conditions of women in Hong Kong have greatly improved. The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) was set up in 1996 to oversee human rights and equal opportunities. The Sex Discrimination Ordinance, the Family Status Discrimination Ordinance, and the Disability Discrimination Ordinance were established. Research into

¹¹ The modern sense of 'family' emerged in the nineteenth century. It referred to a 'small kin-group' consisting of 'a father, mother and children' living in a 'house' 'as a working economic unit', following 'the development of smaller separate houses' and 'the new working class'. In the twentieth century the new terms 'nuclear family' (small kin-group) and 'extended family' (larger kin-group including grandparents and other relatives) were established (Williams, 1976/1981: 108, 110).

¹² The statistics used by Ng Chun Hung came from:
 The Tuen Mun District Board (1991). *The Needs of Married Women in Tuen Mun, Research Report 1990*. Hong Kong: Tuen Mun District Board; the Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association; Shue Yan College (1982). *Report on Working Mothers in Family Functioning*. Hong Kong: HKYWCA and HKSYC; Lau S. K. & Wan P. S. (1987) *A Preliminary Report on Social Indicators in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Centre for Hong Kong Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

equal opportunities in Hong Kong, studying the stereotypical representations of gender and family roles in Hong Kong textbooks (EOC, 1999: 6), revealed that men are associated with powerful objects and are presented as ‘explorers, fathers of a country, persons of strength...’; personified as ‘cheetahs and magicians...’; while women are associated with weakness, are symbolised by the cloud, because they cry, and are also referred to as ‘grapes and angels’ (*ibid.*: 9). Fathers are associated with work. They are responsible for moral teaching and for providing information about the world. Mothers are associated with ‘housework and the home’. They teach about interpersonal relationships (*ibid.*: 13). This conforms to the gender stereotypes discussed previously.

Regarding the role of women in Hong Kong, an anthropological study carried out by Diana Martin (1997: 198-199) revealed that large numbers of mothers remain in the workforce after their children are born. These mothers prefer their ‘worker identity’ to their ‘mother identity’. Thus the concept of the role of mothers has changed. The burden of childcare has been delegated to parents or employed helpers. In Hong Kong, only mothers from the lower economic class look after their children at home, despite their reluctance to do so. Moreover, the traditional family culture of order and discipline has been replaced by one of ‘care and communication’ (*ibid.*: 221). The education of the young now involves both sons and daughters and is regarded as an important means of producing better prospects for the family in the future (Chan K. W., 2004).

The above information has provided a glimpse of the current situation concerning gender issues in Hong Kong, including the school environment and daily life practices

which have influenced the values and attitudes of the participants in this research.

II. DATA ANALYSIS: PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON GENDER ISSUES AND FEMINIST ART

Design of the questionnaire

The intention of this questionnaire was for the participants to work in pairs, composed of one member of each sex. However, owing to the fact that only two males were present when the questionnaire was distributed, this could be done in only two pairs. The other five pairs consisted of two females, with one member assuming the role of an 'imagined male'. I think I should have taken into consideration the gender composition of this group of participants when I designed this questionnaire. Upon reflection, I decided not to include the responses made by these 'imagined males', since these responses only indicated the point of view of a female.

The questionnaire (see Appendix II Q5) was divided into two parts. The first part investigated participants' views of gender roles, as, for instance, in the division of labour and concerns about family, work, and individual needs. This was followed by a study of their views on gender stereotypes, as well as the sources of tension for the two genders. The first picture supplied cues to stimulate participants' thoughts on gender roles in the family. A list of gender stereotypes related to gender roles in the family and work, and another list of gender conceptions in traditional Chinese thought, were presented. Participants had to select from the lists those they agreed with and identify sources of tension in the space provided.

The second part examined the perception of participants of the Hong Kong

people's acceptance of feminist art. Participants were asked to discuss one feminist artwork which used taboo objects to express a feminist theme. The reasons for participants' accepting or rejecting the feminist artwork presented in this questionnaire were examined. The following data analysis will discuss only information relevant to this thesis, since some aspects were designed for an educational purpose.

Participants' views on gender roles



An Angry Housewife 《忿怒的家庭主婦》, Earthenware ceramics by Caroline Cheng Yi 鄭禕, a female artist in Hong Kong, who received training in ceramics in the USA.

This picture shows a ceramic work produced by Caroline Cheng Yi, entitled '*An Angry Housewife*' (1994). It was used to elicit information on the participants' perceptions of gender roles. The artwork features a man with a moustache wearing an apron and holding a mop, an expression of anger on his face. The figure was portrayed in the cartoonist style, showing the artist's sarcastic criticism of 'the unfairness of the roles of man and woman in a family, in which the poor woman is often over-burdened with numerous household tasks' (information obtained from the caption given to the artwork during the exhibition). Participants were asked to respond to this artwork and review their own situation.

Participants' views on division of labour

Most male participants (100%) and female participants (71.4%) agreed that in the image the male 'housewife' is angry about 'doing all the housework' (see Appendix III Table 8.1). Many female participants (57.1%) thought that the artist called the man a 'housewife' because the man should do all the housework: that is, men should assume responsibility for doing housework. The attention of the two pairs composed of opposite genders was drawn to the appearance of the male figure dressed in an apron and holding a mop, thus presenting the image of a housewife (see Appendix III Table 8.2).

When participants were asked whether men should do the housework, all of them (male and female) agreed that '[men] should do some housework' (see Appendix III Table 8.3). However, only the female participants (100%), and neither of the male participants, stated the reasons for this as being that men are members of the family or because of the equality of the sexes (see Appendix III Table 8.4). The above responses reflect the female participants' strong rejection of the inequalities between the two genders. They rejected the traditional Chinese values expressed in the saying that 'men are in charge of all affairs on the outside; women manage the inside affairs', originating in the 'Family Rituals' prescribed in the twelfth century by Zhu Xi (Knapp, 1999: 14).

Regarding the responses of the male participants, William rejected the idea of men doing housework for 'no reason!!! [original emphasis]', showing his preoccupation with male dominance. The other male participant, Charles, replied that 'men should not cook', because he thought that

men are incapable of keeping proper hygiene. There were some reports stating that cutlery was not thoroughly washed [by men], making the food unclean (extract from discussion record).

This seems to be an excuse for his reluctance to change his perception of gender role stereotypes which accord with traditional patriarchal values.

Participants' concern with matters related to family, work and individual needs

The female participants placed the highest emphasis on matters related to family (41.4%), while the male participants attached equal importance (33.3%) to all three categories: that is, family, work and individual needs (see Appendix III Table 8.5). This reveals a discrepancy between the gender role expectations of male and female participants. Female participants cared more about their individual needs (female 39%, male 33.3%) than work (female 24.1%, male 33.3%).

Participants' views on relationships with family members

The major concern of participants was with their relationship with their spouse. To 'marry a good husband or wife' was most important for both female (83.3%) and male (100%) participants (see Appendix III Table 8.5a). Both female participants (50%) and male participants (50%) were concerned about 'getting along well with their spouse's friends'. Some female participants (33.3%) expressed the need to 'take good care of family members'; and 'be filial to parents and parents-in-law' (female 33.3%); while neither male perceived such a need. No one indicated the need to 'be obedient to husband/wife'. These data indicate that most participants did not adhere strongly to

traditional Chinese family values, such as filial piety and obedience. Female participants thought that males espoused patriarchal values, such as regarding the man as the head of the family and thinking that the man ‘should take good care of the family’, but neither of the male participants held these views.

Participants’ views on gender roles in the family: education of descendants

No participants agreed that their role was to teach their own children; take care of their studies; or to ‘do the housework’. I think since both genders are part of the workforce today the housework is often done by domestic helpers (Martin, 1997: 203). It is said in the Chinese *Three Character Classic* that the father should teach his children¹³. However, in Hong Kong, it is normally the mothers who assume this responsibility. Some busy working parents often send their children to tutorial schools to follow up their school work.

Participants’ expectations about work

Some female participants (33.3%) thought that men should ‘earn sufficient money to support the family’. Half of the male participants indicated that a man should ‘earn a living for himself’. This reflected the participants’ adherence to the traditional gender role for men, who were regarded as the breadwinners of the family.

¹³ The Chinese *Three Character Classic* (*San Zi Jing* 三字經) states that ‘It’s not enough for a father to provide materially, he must also teach his children’ 養不教，父之過. The *San Zi Jing* embodied Confucian thought and was commonly used as the first text for formal education among Chinese children after the 19th century. It was probably written by Wang Yinglin (王應麟 1223-1296) in the 13th century. It served as a child’s first formal education at home after the 19th century^{W23}.

To 'have job security' was considered to be an important factor among the female participants (female 83.3%, male 50%). Perhaps this reflects a general female concern with stability, their desire to be free from worries, and perhaps not to be dependent on men. No participants cared about accelerating up their career ladder. It may be beyond the scope of their imagination at this stage because their career life has not yet started. Alternatively this might be owing to the fact that a woman tends to retreat when she feels 'insecure in the masculine universe' (de Beauvoir, 1949: 718), because women in Hong Kong do not want to be viewed as aggressive. The term '*nü qiang ren* 女強人' (meaning 'capable woman') is used to describe a harsh and demanding woman who is unlikely to find favour with men. Owing to the high importance the participants attached to finding good husbands, it is therefore understandable that they were not overly concerned about advancement in their careers.

Participants' views on individual needs

Female participants expressed more concern with friends (50%), being independent (33.3%), personal appearance (33.3%), self-esteem (16.7%), enjoying life (16.7%) and having the opportunity to stay away from the family to indulge in favourite games or activities (16.7%), while the males indicated concern with friends (50%), self-esteem (50%), and having their own lifestyle (50%). Female participants attached some importance to independence and personal appearance but the males did not. This indicates that females did not feel sufficiently independent and reinforces the general impression that females care more about their appearance than do males. On the whole there was no area of strong agreement among the participants, except in the

demand for a good husband/wife.

Participants' views on gender stereotypes

Status of male and female in the family:

All participants (female and male 100%) indicated a clear objection to the Chinese patrilineal tradition: relying on a son to continue a family's lineage, showing the triumph of Western values over Chinese traditions (see Appendix III Table 8.6). A survey of Chinese people conducted in 1993 revealed that, in addition to 'continuing the lineage', the purpose of having children was to ensure that there was 'someone to provide for parents when they retire' (*South China Morning Post*, 30 October 1993, cited in Martin 1997, 207). However, with the establishment of Mandatory Provident Fund Schemes in December 2000, the growing popularity of homes for the aged and the growing number of people emigrating to different parts of the world before the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, Hong Kong people no longer expect the younger generation to take care of them in their old age. Taking into consideration all the trouble involved in rearing children, increasing numbers of people are rejecting the idea of having children at all.

All female participants (100%) and half the male participants (50%) disagreed with the proposition that 'after being [married], a daughter does not belong to her natal family'¹⁴. This demonstrates the change in contemporary views of a woman's status in the family.

¹⁴ Selina Chan observed that the traditional attitude regarding daughters is that they are 'supposed to be married-out' and therefore are 'not entitled to inherit the family property' (Chan, S. 1997: 153).

Participants' views on the nature of men and women

Both the male participants and the majority of female participants (71.4%) disagreed that women were weaker than men. This reflects their disagreement with the traditional concept of the nature of women in Chinese tradition. Diverging responses between the male and female participants could be found in their views regarding the concepts of Yin and Yang. The reason for a higher incidence of rejection of the theory among the female participants (71.4%) might be owing to the negative concepts of females usually associated with it. The privilege accorded to males in the theory might have been instrumental in causing both the male participants to agree with the theory. However, since the Yin and Yang theory carries multiple meanings in various Chinese cultures, from the limited information obtained, it is difficult to be sure why the males accepted this theory. Further research is required to study this phenomenon.

Participants' views on gender stereotypes in jobs

Most female participants (85.7%) rejected gender stereotypes associated with jobs. In contrast, both male participants agreed that females were more suited to performing jobs of a support or service nature, such as 'cleaner, secretary, air hostess, nurse'. However, half of them (50%) did not agree about stereotypes of jobs for men. The jobs for men listed in the questionnaire were jobs that required strength or that might involve risk or danger, such as firemen or security guards, as well as jobs that required specialist knowledge, such as engineers and doctors. According to the discussion record, Charles was initially not aware that there were female security guards, and even when he was reminded of the existence of female guards he insisted that there were

fewer female security guards than male.

Cecilia: ... Do you agree that these jobs are suitable for females: cleaner, secretary, air hostess and nurse? I don't agree. There are male air stewards. How about you?

Charles: I agree ... [...]

Cecilia: Do you agree that these jobs are suitable for males: security guard, engineer, doctor, fireman?

Charles: Yes, I agree.

Cecilia: I do not agree. Because ... a lot of females are doing these jobs.

Charles: But most of them are more suitable for males. Have you seen female security guards?

Cecilia: Go upstairs and you will see a lot of them!

Charles: But there are fewer women [doing these jobs].

Jan Berting (1995: 160) argues that stereotypes are not merely the stuff of imagination. They reflect the objective world. They are collective representations of out-groups and are highly persistent. They are 'manifestations of "closed thinking": people who cling to stereotypes do not confront their constructs with reality (no reality testing). Evidence that runs counter to the social construct does not destroy or change it; on the contrary, it is declared an exception'. Judging by the above example, this seems to be true.

Generally speaking, female participants strongly rejected existing stereotypes of women. The male participants did not exhibit a similar degree of rejection. They might not have understood the situation of females or they were not sympathetic to the difficulties experienced by them. This result highlights a site of struggle between men and women. Berting (1995: 163) argues that stereotypes are 'related to social and economic conditions of group interests'. In order to protect these interests, in the past

women were not allowed to work in particular professions, such as those of architect, fireman, bus driver, on the grounds that women had a weaker physique. Today, many women are working very well in these professions, proving that past assumptions about women were wrong.

Participants' views on feminist art in Hong Kong

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Man Ching Ying 文晶瑩

A present for her growth I (1996)

Sanitary napkin, red egg shell and light bulb

(The artwork is about the burden of the female - menstruation and pregnancy)

Background information about the feminist art shown in the questionnaire

An installation artwork by Man Ching Ying, a female artist in Hong Kong, was shown in the second part of the questionnaire. Her installation, entitled "*A present for her growth I*" (1996), was presented to stimulate participants' thoughts on women's taboos and associated concepts. In this artwork, sanitary napkins, red egg shells and light bulbs were used to symbolise 'the burden of the female - menstruation and pregnancy' (extract from caption of the exhibit). The sanitary napkins were shaped like balls of flowers with egg shells placed at the centre. The egg shells were painted red, suggesting an association with the gift given for celebrating the birth of a baby in Chinese custom. On the sanitary napkins there were also traces of red paint which

resemble menstrual blood. David Clarke (2001: 97), an art historian in Hong Kong, maintained that the artist deliberately made 'taboo objects' identifiable so that 'a sense of decorum breach' could be achieved.

For a woman, menstruation is a regular discomfort. Besides pains she also feels ashamed of it (de Beauvoir, 1949: 326). She has to hide her menstrual cloths and conceal her condition (*ibid.*: 376). In both Chinese and Western traditions, menstruation is associated with negative concepts. These include 'ritually polluting',¹⁵ ruining crops, destroying gardens and so on (Gallagher, 2001: 93; de Beauvoir, 1949: 157). Man Ching Ying attempted to beautify menstruation and pregnancy in order to challenge existing taboos related to women and to resist the negative conceptions of the biological nature of the female.

Reasons for acceptance and rejection of the work as an art form

Most participants were more concerned about the meanings (female 62.5%, male 75%) associated with the artwork than with its formal quality (female 31.3%, male 0%) (see Appendix III Tables 8.7 and 8.8). The following statements reveal that the

¹⁵ In the Chinese tradition women were considered as 'ritually polluting' (study by Ahern) because '[m]enstrual blood and postpartum discharge were seen as both unclean and dangerously powerful. Anyone who came into contact with these substances was barred from worshipping the gods'. 'Pregnant women' were also considered to be 'dangerous and harmful to others' (Gallagher, 2001: 93). Similar beliefs were found in many primitive societies, as shown by de Beauvoir. She referred to the studies by Leviticus and Pliny, who gave an account of negative concepts associated with menstruation. It was said that menstruation could 'ruin crops, destroy gardens, kill bees, and so on' (de Beauvoir, 1949: 157).

participants considered it to be important for an artwork to have meaning:

- ‘Puts forward concepts that provoke in-depth thought/has an artistic conception/has content and ideas’ (female 42.9%);
- ‘the artist has her own ideas and intentions to express’ or ‘the message is unusual’ (female 28.6%, male 50%);
- ‘has symbolic meanings’ (female 28.6%, male 50%);
- ‘expresses emotions’ (female 28.6 %, male 50%;); and
- ‘reflects the truth’ (female 28.6 %).

Only female participants used aesthetic criteria in their consideration of whether the work was art. They were:

- ‘creative/unusual creation/original/the form is unusual and attractive’ (female 42.9%;);
- ‘use of unusual material which stimulates reflection’ (female 14.3%); and
- ‘unusual presentation method’ (female 14.3%).

This indicates the female participants’ seriousness in treating this feminist work as art by meeting the aesthetic criteria. The major reasons for rejecting the work as art were related to:

- a ‘lack of understanding of its subject and meaning’ (female 42.9%, male 100%);
- ‘the sensitive nature of the use of taboo materials, and the subject of concern violated morality in the society’ (female 42.9%);
- ‘the negative values associated with the material or [maybe its representation]’ (female 42.9%); and
- its ‘formal qualities’ (female 28.6%, male 50%).

Female participants used negative terms, such as ‘odd’, ‘disgusting’ and ‘horrible’, or ‘the concept is nonsense’, to describe this work, while the male participants only used the neutral term ‘common’ to describe its aesthetic quality: that is ‘the form is

common' (response by Charles), rather than criticising its subject. Perhaps, knowing the sensitive nature of the issue, he chose not to become involved in such a challenging situation.

Only female participants regarded the use of sanitary napkins with red stains in the artwork as a sensitive taboo which went 'beyond moral standards' (female 28.6%). The perception of menstrual blood as 'unclean and dangerously powerful' (Gallagher, 2001: 93) was pervasive in the traditional Chinese patriarchal society. These values have been internalised by women in Hong Kong to such an extent that they have succumbed to the taboos imposed on them.

One male participant claimed the absence of relevant experience as a reason for rejecting this piece as art. Yet in daily practice we can never possess knowledge and understanding about every piece of art. It is when the audience learns and tries to understand the meaning of an artwork, to respond to it through association with personal experience and to deduce its meaning, that critical art appreciation becomes meaningful.

In conclusion, it seems that the male and female participants perceived their gender roles differently. Female participants were concerned about the equality of the sexes while male participants showed no concern about this aspect. Female participants cared more about matters related to family than work, while men placed equal importance on these two areas. Female participants perceived males to hold patriarchal values but neither of the male participants held these views. Most female participants rejected gender stereotypes associated with jobs while both male participants agreed with them.

The second picture provided a context in which participants' attitudes towards feminist art could be challenged. Viewers had to return to their existing concepts about gender taboos, current social values and the boundaries of art before they could decide whether to accept it or not. The men and women responded to this artwork differently. Female participants used aesthetic criteria to evaluate whether the work was art, while neither of the male participants attempted to do so. The reason for rejection given by the men was a lack of understanding of its subject and meaning, while the women's reasons were related to negative feelings associated with the material and subject matter.

In the post-colonial period some gender stereotypes, including traditional Chinese ones, are still held among both genders and inequalities remain. This implies that something needs to be done to educate people in Hong Kong, something which contemporary art education can help with. By means of critical studies of feminist art (as illustrated in this instrument) and visual cultures, students could be made aware of identity issues and the problem of stereotypes.

In the following chapter, a summary of the findings of this study will be presented, together with an outline of the implications of these findings and recommendations for visual arts education in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR VISUAL ARTS EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

In this chapter a summary of the research findings is presented and a number of recommendations are made for visual arts education in Hong Kong.

I. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This thesis has attempted to examine the identity politics reflected in the primary and secondary school art curricula in Hong Kong. The perceptions of a number of pre-service teachers regarding the school art curriculum were also investigated; their views of Others in relation to their own identities were then examined, together with other identity issues involved in the process of post-colonial development. The research questions were:

1. What were the characteristics of the colonial and post-colonial primary and secondary school art curricula?
2. What are the perceptions of certain pre-service teachers of their own identities and those of Others?
3. What are the identity issues involved in the process of post-colonial development in Hong Kong?

1. What were the characteristics of the colonial and post-colonial primary and secondary school art curricula?

This section summarises the various means of control exerted over the Hong Kong art curriculum during the colonial period. Firstly, Western artistic ideas were dominant. This may be seen in the use of predominantly Western art resources and the dominance

of Western aesthetic values. There was also an increasing dependency on Western art education models in the art syllabi [curricula] from 1960 to 1997. In addition, there was a strong emphasis on various aspects of modern aesthetics, such as formalism, simplicity, style and taste, art for art's sake, a resistance to old models and to the idea that art is only for the talented. An orientation towards high art, including Chinese and Western art, was explicit. Resources of Asian art or of the art of other regions were rare.

Secondly, the change in the emphasis on Chinese art in the syllabi reflects the transformation of identity politics which took place during the colonial years. At first there was limited Chinese art content. From the 1980s onwards attempts to create a balance between Chinese and Western art in the area of Art Appreciation were noted. After 1997, no further traces of a change in content in favour of Chinese art have been detected. The admonition of the First Chief Executive to emphasise Chinese elements in the education system seems to have been ignored. The post-handover situation of Hong Kong appears to reflect Loomba's (1998/2005) suggestion that colonial values may continue from an internal desire which does not depend on direct rule. Moreover, as observed by Paul Morris and Ian Scott (2005: 96), from 'the desire to avoid open conflict', the post-1997 Hong Kong government has made no effort to translate the prescribed Chinese values in the new policies into action (*ibid.*: 86), with the effect that they remain 'symbolic' (*ibid.*: 89). A 'collaborative politics' (Vickers, 2005: 26), adopted by both Chinese and colonial authorities in order to secure stability, is being continued. Moreover, the long-standing problem of untrained art teachers, which was noted in both government documents (Curriculum Development Council, 1999) and public papers (Hong Kong Society for Education in Art, 1996), remains unchanged. The continued laissez-faire management of schools before and after 1997 has rendered it difficult to improve the situation.

Thirdly, the marginalisation of local art has continued from the colonial into the post-colonial period. During the colonial period, local art was either absent from or played a very minor role in the art syllabi. Local art first appeared in the secondary school syllabus in 1997, when appreciation of this art was announced as one of the aims of art education, although relevant content remained absent. In the 2003 visual arts curriculum local art content was still limited. The dominant party continues to announce new goals, but appears to assume that these will be achieved using standardised instruments (for example, the art syllabi), and makes no provision for actual change’.

2. What are the perceptions of certain pre-service teachers (participants) of their own identities and those of Others?

Participants’ views of the art curricula

The data reveal that participants did not attach great value to Western and Chinese art but that they did value Hong Kong art (being particularly in favour of popular culture). They were more interested in other cultures, such as Japanese, and they seemed to be influenced more by their family background and peers than by the art curriculum. There was a discrepancy between participants’ claims regarding their learned knowledge and the knowledge they were confident of. They claimed to have learned mainly about Western art (mean=40.3%); and more about Hong Kong art (mean=28.6%) than about Chinese art (mean=16.9%) or Asian art (mean=11.3%). However, they perceived similar degrees of personal strength in their knowledge of Hong Kong art (17.3%) and Western art (18.2%), which were both stronger than Chinese art (10%) or Asian art (4.3%). This shows their resistance to Western and Chinese art in favour of localisation and the low degree of strength they claimed in all areas, indicating that they did not feel confident about what they had learned. They

believed that ‘knowledge possessed by teachers’ (71.4%), ‘the values of the general public’ (42.9%) and ‘Western colonial culture’ (33.3%) were the crucial factors affecting the development of the art curriculum in primary and secondary schools. In fact, all these factors are interlinked in both the colonial and post-colonial contexts.

Only one participant thought there was a need to learn about Chinese culture. This reflects the low degree of support for the First Chief Executive’s nationalist wish to introduce more Chinese elements into the Hong Kong curriculum.

In short, the participants showed little evidence of a change in values.

Participants’ views of cultural Others

The identity narratives given by both the Hong Kong participants and the participants from different nationalities reflected their own conceptions of themselves as well as their knowledge of and attitudes towards Others. Hong Kong participants had difficulty in giving information about Others from different cultures; similarly, participants from other nations found it difficult to imagine what Hong Kong people are like. For the Hong Kong participants, this is partly the result of past colonial practices, which diverted their attention to the Western world and away from neighbouring countries. It is also partly owing to the lack of interest on the part of the post-colonial government in promoting an understanding of other cultures, in the light of the nationalism advocated by the first Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR).

The results reflected the Hong Kong participants’ ignorance of Others. They frequently stated ‘I don’t know’, because they were unable to imagine the food, festivals, clothes and languages of people from other nations. They also provided some general answers, such as ‘ethnic clothes’, in an attempt to conceal their ignorance about people from other countries. In some cases they confused the traditional Chinese lifestyle in

Hong Kong with that described in legends or that of another region. Similar responses were given by people from different nations who were asked to describe their perceptions of Hong Kong people.

Both Hong Kong participants and those from different nations seemed to be aware of the diversity of cultures, but the way they reacted was strongly influenced by their assessment of their own situations. In some circumstances both of them showed resistance to stereotyping (the issue of stereotyping will be discussed later in this chapter). In other circumstances the Hong Kong participants selected different tactics either to please the teacher, to challenge mainstream values, or to avoid being involved in challenging situations. The data on participants' perceptions of Others of different nationalities brought to the attention of the participants their insufficient knowledge of Others. The results also show that there were many discrepancies between the information provided by the two sides of each pair of participants.

Participants' views of gender Others and of feminist art

In response to gender stereotypes, the views of the two genders were strongly antagonistic. This can be seen in the argument between Cecilia and Charles about job stereotypes for women. Female participants demonstrated a strong resistance to the stereotypes of women mentioned in the questionnaire. They tended to imagine males by projecting their own expectations of or dissatisfaction with males. However, males tended to give answers designed to protect their existing privilege. For example, Charles' reason for objecting to the idea that men should take responsibility for cooking was that he thought men were incapable of keeping proper hygiene.

In the discussion about the feminist artwork shown in the questionnaire, the male participants tended to avoid discussing sensitive issues associated with it. They claimed that they did not understand feminist art because they did not possess the

relevant experience. Only female participants regarded the topic of menstruation or the use of the materials by the artist as immoral; some described it as ‘disgusting’ and ‘horrible’. The internalisation of patriarchal norms is reflected in the participants’ responses. This issue is seldom addressed in Hong Kong studies.

Participants’ views of historical Others living in past Chinese architectural traditions

Participants possessed only a vague knowledge of local and Chinese traditions, especially of the Chinese architectural traditions and associated family culture. This shows the effect of the marginalisation of local and Chinese art in past art curricula. Although some participants could list a few symbolic meanings associated with the decorations on the traditional house, they could not describe how relevant themes were presented. Similar themes are often presented in New Year prints and in the interior décor of Chinese restaurants today, but the participants were unable to make relevant associations. The long period of colonial education had blinded them to the significance of these artefacts. These Chinese decorations were considered ‘low’ art and were seldom addressed in past art curricula. Participants were able to describe some past traditions but their descriptions were often vague and superficial, indicating that they were not derived from the participants’ personal experience. The lack of direct experience or of any bonding agent which connects the past with the present affected their attitudes towards past traditions.

The hierarchical family system of the past seems to have collapsed. Participants did not support the idea of ‘five generations under one roof’ or of large families (33.3%); they preferred small families, with a new system of room allocation and the maintenance of a seeming equality between genders.

3. **What are the identity issues involved in the process of colonial and post-colonial development in Hong Kong?**

I identified the following identity issues in participants' responses:

Resistance in participants' aesthetic preferences

Although Western art and Chinese art remained in the mainstream of the art curriculum before and after 1997, Clarke observes that Hong Kong people maintained a spirit of psychic resistance to colonisation (Clarke, 2001: 8) by both Chinese and Western forces. Data revealed that few (3/8) participants showed an inclination towards Western art. Moreover, their vague and incorrect use of aesthetic terms to describe Western high art reflected a poor understanding of it. Three participants appeared to demonstrate a desire to conform to the expectations of their teacher by choosing Western artworks as their preferred pieces. They demonstrated a limited attachment to these pieces and one of them admitted that her actual preference was for popular art. These participants adjusted their opinions according to their sense of their own place and that of an Other.

Various tactics were used by participants to resist the dominance of high art, especially the selection of children's playthings and tourist souvenirs as their preferred artworks. They seemed to be aware of the common rejection of such objects as art; however, they insisted on choosing them as their preferences. This indicates their desire to show their true feelings and their challenge to my (their teacher's) perceived values.

At first glance some artworks appeared to have been chosen according to modernist theory, but it emerged from the participants' discussions with their peers that the real reasons they were selected lay in the participants' personal connections with them or in their symbolic meaning, rather than in their aesthetic quality. It seems that

the issue of personal identity was often attached to items associated with gift culture: for instance, a personal good luck charm or souvenir of friendship. One participant chose a favourite ceramic cartoon animal from her childhood that she always had with her when she studied. All of these things were found to be more important than formal qualities. In other words, the personal associations of these objects made them 'beautiful artwork' in the minds of the participants. These associations were related to their own past experience and friendship rather than to their Hong Kong identity or to artwork produced by local artists. This shows that their sense of Hong Kong identity was weak and also indicates the effect of the art curricula on their past art training.

Hong Kong Chinese students are not passive learners. They are able to assess their situation and react in different ways. Some choose to conform but show reluctance to do so; some decide to resist authority.

Conflict in gender issues

Although subjected to over a hundred years of colonial education, the Hong Kong people did not become completely Westernised. They seem to have adopted a hybrid of Western and Chinese values. This is indicated by their responses to feminist art, styles of living and views of traditional Chinese philosophy. On the one hand, they believe in freedom and individualism. For example, all participants objected to the Chinese patrilineal tradition: reliance on a son to continue a family's lineage, and some (one to three participants for each category) indicated the need to 'be independent', 'have self-esteem', 'enjoy life' and 'have the opportunity to stay away from the family for one's favourite games or activities'. On the other hand, they followed some Chinese traditions: many female participants still assume duties and roles that were traditionally assigned to women in the past and they still agreed to existing taboos associated with women. Many female participants were concerned about matters

related to the family (41.4%) and job security (83.3%), but none of them cared about promotion or other better prospects. The female participants still perceived men as they were perceived traditionally: for example, female participants saw men as the breadwinners, though the male participants did not see themselves in this way.

Attachment to modern technologies and contemporary identity

By asking participants to contrast the conditions of contemporary and traditional lifestyles, I wished to investigate the extent of the influence of modernist values on participants' self-identity. Data revealed that participants were highly oriented towards modernist values with regard to their ideal home facilities and the environmental factors sold in contemporary advertisements. This shows their desire for upward mobility in status and to conform to a group identity through the acquisition of the latest technology. Participants were strongly attached to such established social symbols.

However, they seemed to have considered the shortage of land in Hong Kong in their choice of 'sharing a room among siblings', rather than wanting a room to themselves. Moreover, not all their answers appeared to be rational. Some of them indicated a desire for traditional practices such as *fengshui*/geomancy (55.6%), which was considered a superstition by enlightened scholars of the early twentieth century. They retained the desire for good fortune prevalent among past generations, including 'aspirations for the well-being of descendants', and 'wealth and health'. Thus, not every decision made by the participants was a 'rational calculation for the optimal satisfaction of interest' (Weber; Shils (trans.), 1981: 9).

Increased prosperity has transformed the lifestyle of the Hong Kong participants. Modern facilities seem to offer them a sense of security. New modes of communication have also affected their interpersonal relationships. The use of electronic devices has reduced face-to-face contact and kept people apart. These

devices appear to function as ‘a symbol of resistance’ (Skeggs, 2004: 217) to strangers and outsiders and as a protector of rights within a particular boundary.

Issue of stereotyping

The problem of stereotyping is of central concern in post-colonial theories. My intention was not to identify stereotypes or to emphasise cultural differences, but to make participants aware of the issue of stereotyping. Sometimes we feel confident about our knowledge of a particular race or ethnic group, but when we attempt to go into detail we realise how inadequate that knowledge is. Data revealed that the Hong Kong participants tended to use ‘common-sense knowledge’ to answer questions about languages, national dress, food and festivals in other countries. This ‘common-sense knowledge’ is shaped by personal bias and our culture and is related to stereotyping. Stereotyping occurs when we do not understand Others.

Participants from different countries were aware of the effect of stereotyping: for example, the supposed superiority of white skin colour. Some of them tried to use alternative terms to describe their skin colour, such as ‘lighter’ or ‘darker’, ‘brown’ instead of ‘black’, in order to avoid this sensitive issue.

Stereotypes of Others are closely related to one’s positive or negative attitudes towards Others. The contrast between the responses given by the Hong Kong participants regarding the Yi and the Japanese is significant. The detailed account of Japanese culture given by participants showed their knowledge of and attachment to it, while their ignorance of and reluctance to communicate about the Yi was demonstrated by frequent ‘I don’t know’s or negative answers. These data confirm Loomba’s idea that stereotypes can be transformed into ‘real inequalities’ through the relationship between race and class (Loomba, 1998/ 2005: 123). The example indicates that stereotyping of Others continues in the present day although people are aware of its

effect. Stereotyping reflects our attitude towards minorities and people from other cultures. Stereotypes of Others depend on the perception of a possible threat to or advantage over oneself by Others. In my view, communication and understanding between different parties are the most effective ways to address the issue of stereotyping.

Issue of hybrid identity

In summary, the data reveal that the identity of the participants shifted in different circumstances. Sometimes they adopted modernist values and sometimes they returned to past traditions. Sometimes female participants expressed a strong resistance to gender oppression, but sometimes they showed an affiliation with these unfair values and practices. They seem to be confused about different identities. They have been subject to many influences and their identities have been affected by many aspects, such as the culture inherited from earlier generations or their parents; influence of peers or of past training; their assessment of their situation in identity politics; global influence through the media and internet and other technological advancements; as well as their knowledge and understanding of Others. In the post-colonial situation, the new Hong Kong government wishes to control all these factors and transform Hong Kong identities so that they conform to a standardised national identity. However, so far this has proved to be impossible.

They displayed many similarities to 'the post-modern subject', who was 'historically defined, whose identity changed over time, always shifting about, was never 'fixed, essential or permanent' and 'multiple', as Hall describes it (Hall, Held & McGrew, 1992: 275-285). These identities are subject to constant transformation in the power struggle among colonial, national and global forces in the post-colonial period of Hong Kong.

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR VISUAL ARTS EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

The need to be aware of identity politics

The reunification of Hong Kong with mainland China resulted in a questioning of taken-for-granted identities. Identities became sites of tension and conflict. There are influences on our identities from different cultures and often our local situation is marginalised. The Hong Kong people have to redefine who they are and how they are related to the ex-coloniser, their nation-state and the local government. I think a narrow-minded nationalist or 'decolonised' art education is not the best solution. There is a need to make students aware of the power relations involved in issues related to colonialism, nationalism and localism in art education. Being situated between two dominant cultures, Western and Chinese, local Hong Kong art possesses its own particular nature and specific values which deserve Hong Kong people's attention.

The need for reviewing the role of an art teacher in light of identity politics

Having an awareness of the power relationships between participants and researcher, or students and teacher, I understand that people may react differently in different power situations. Some may not voice their true feelings or opinions. In this research, I learned how I, as a teacher, had become an agent of colonisation by discouraging 'student art worlds' and by transmitting 'univocal interpretations of art' (Cary, 1998: 58-60). This included the glorification of particular art objects, reproducing the values of high art and devaluing other arts, confirming particular aesthetic experiences and suppressing students' abilities which did not conform to my values. In Hong Kong the teaching of art is mainly based on visual language adopted from the West; most of the artworks shown in art lessons are Western art; and the cartoons and toys which students favour are seldom presented as art. The feedback from my students (participants) made me conscious of my position as a participant

researcher and teacher. I became more doubtful about the possibility of remaining neutral in a research situation, as advocated by the positivists.

As a teacher researcher, I came to know my students in greater breadth and depth. I learned to be more open to and receptive of alternative perspectives and interpretations. I realised there was a need to 'connect student art worlds and the contemporary art world as it exists as a complex socio-cultural institution' (Cary, 1998: 60); and I also saw the need for 'a rapprochement between the art world of high culture and the student art world' (*ibid.*: 61). The teacher is no longer 'a superior source of top-down knowledge' engaged in 'a passive delivery system for static knowledge', but 'an agent of learning in the process of knowledge production' (*ibid.*: 185-186).

The need to nurture students' critical thinking skills

It is generally believed that colonial education does not favour the nurturing of critical thinking skills among students. Leading students to become blind followers of a nationalist or decolonising movement would not do them any good either. After the education reform, teachers and students seemed to immerse themselves in studying cultures superficially without understanding that the superficial nature of these studies might lead to the marginalisation of Others on their part, and without any foreknowledge of the power struggles that may arise between them and their teacher when engaging in these studies.

From my research, I have come to believe that cultural studies in art cannot be beneficial to students' learning unless they include some account of the various issues embedded in colonialism. Without having a comprehensive picture and without understanding the important forces that shape culture, students cannot acquire the critical thinking skills necessary in contemporary education. Art educators need to look critically at post-colonial issues and help students to think for themselves; to know

the world from multiple perspectives; and to have a critical understanding of their own situation, so that a proper assessment can be made of their attitudes, practices and reactions to Others in the world. In this way the teaching of art will help students better to understand themselves and the world around them.

The need to address the issue of stereotyping

Teachers' values determine what they teach, how they teach, and their attitudes towards other people. Consequently they also affect students' attitudes towards Others. Our attitudes to other races and genders are often expressed in stereotypes. Perhaps stereotypes cannot be avoided, but a better knowledge of them, of how they are formed and of their effects, may bring about a better understanding between people. It is necessary to make students and teachers aware of these issues. This could be accomplished by introducing relevant themes for art production, including art produced by people from other cultures. Students should learn not to marginalise themselves or Others. Art education is an ideal area for students to express their ideas on these issues: for example, in teaching poster design, relevant themes could be discussed and expressed visually.

The need to establish a suitable pedagogy to improve the relationships between different groups of people

Past art curricula in Hong Kong focused mainly on formalism and technique. Little attention was given to pedagogy. Changes can be seen in the *Arts Education Key Learning Area: Visual Arts Curriculum Guide (Primary 1- Secondary 3)*. In this new visual arts curriculum four learning and teaching strategies are identified: life-wide learning, integrative learning in the arts, inquiry-based learning and experiential learning (pp.36-38). However, these strategies cover only breadth of knowledge and

appropriate learning styles. They do not nurture students to be critical individuals and the ethical dimension of art education has been neglected. According to Efland, Freedman and Stuhr (1996: 72), 'the fundamental reason for teaching the arts is to enable students to understand the social and cultural worlds they inhabit'. Considerable attention should be paid to 'the effects of power in validating art knowledge' through 'mini-narratives' from different perspectives, and in their opinion, 'no point of view is privileged'. I suggest that the new curriculum should also emphasise issue-based learning so that students will become aware of the issues of gender, class, race and so on, which are currently so important. Students are unlikely to discover the meanings embedded in an artwork unless they investigate it with a critical attitude of mind. This places more demands on teachers, who have to guide students along this path.

The need to use 'dialogue pedagogy' to facilitate inter-school communication: between schools for different ethnic groups, races and students of different social backgrounds

Data reveal that some participants had a bias against people from certain other countries. However, such prejudices can be understood by the teacher so that follow-up work can be carried out accordingly. The majority of Hong Kong students study in a monocultural environment owing to the policy of separation (foreign students study in international schools; local South Asians study at special schools and both groups are isolated from mainstream schools) that protects class interests established during the colonial period. However, globalisation is a world trend. Exchange between cultures and countries is now common. We can no longer seclude ourselves on this small island. We have to open ourselves up and be receptive to Others. We have to modify our pedagogy to help students gain more knowledge and understanding about Others. Encouraging dialogue between students and people from different parts

of the world is one possible way of improving communication.

I suggest using the 'dialogue pedagogy' to include dialogues between different cultures and genders, and to stimulate students' and teachers' thoughts on the issues. The 'dialogue pedagogy' emphasises the need to hear the voice of the Other. Without genuine contact with people from different cultural backgrounds, effective communication is not going to be possible. It is necessary to create platforms of some kind to facilitate this sort of communication. It is only through direct contact that people will become aware of the differences in their ideas and the possibilities of conflict that exist between them; once they have gained that awareness, the process of conflict management can begin.

The instruments used in this study are examples of this pedagogy. They were structured in such a way that participants had to view their own situation in relation to that of an Other. They also provided opportunities for the Other to express himself or herself. Some schools in Hong Kong have introduced the 'sister schools' system, which operates between different types of school: for instance, between a normal school and a special education school. They regularly organise joint activities. With a genuine dialogue taking place between able-bodied and disabled students, better communication and understanding is developing between students from these schools. I think this practice could be extended to other types of school: for example, a link could be established between the international schools (for expatriates) and mainstream schools (for local students); between single sex schools: for example, a boys' school and a girls' school; between schools of different religious denominations: for example, a Catholic school and a Buddhist school. Every society consists of an intricate combination of different people – different in terms of gender, age, social, cultural and religious background, and so on. With more first-hand experience of communication with Others I believe that students would learn to have mutual respect for each other.

The need to develop an art curriculum which makes students better aware of a wider culture, more responsive to varieties of art and less marginalised

Data reveal that the participants possessed little knowledge about people living in other parts of the world or people who lived a different lifestyle from the contemporary. They still held to particular stereotypes of the opposite gender and people of different cultural backgrounds; this could lead to the marginalisation of these people. The new visual arts curriculum clearly indicated a need to study different cultures through different areas of concern in the curriculum: for example, under ‘future directions’ (p.5), ‘curriculum framework’ (p.8), ‘understanding arts in context’ (pp.11, 15, 24, 25) and ‘values and attitudes’ (pp.16, 17). However, I question the optimistic view of the curriculum planners, according to which students’ ‘frequent exposure to various cultures’ will automatically lead them to ‘realize the existence of cultural differences between themselves and others’; to ‘understand the visual arts from multiple perspectives’ and to ‘respect and develop an inclusive attitude towards different cultures’ (p.25). This involves the difference between ‘knowing that’ and ‘knowing how’. I argue that simply engaging students ‘in the process of pursuing the arts in context’ will not necessarily lead to their attainment of ‘positive values and attitudes towards life’ (p.16), as suggested by the curriculum. In order to achieve these goals, theoretical, pedagogical and environmental supports are required.

Under the category of ‘arts in context’ the curriculum still holds to modernist values regarding high art, with the emphasis on ‘styles’ (which is related to ‘taste’, as discussed in Chapter 2), and the exclusive nature of art in which only the work of particular great artists is accorded any value. According to the curriculum:

The scope of study includes periodic development, characteristics of *styles* [my emphasis] and the trends of changes of the visual arts, as well as the artistic and socio-cultural values of *key* [my emphasis] artists and their representative artwork (p.25).

Although a concern with the ‘political’ (pp.11, 15, 25) context has been expressed, the curriculum has never mentioned the need to address cultural issues such as race, gender, class, post-colonialism and so on. As a first step towards achieving its goal, the curriculum should make teachers and students aware of these issues; this should be followed up by the provision of support regarding the practical steps teachers should take: that is, which teaching strategies will help students to understand ‘arts in context’ (as mentioned above), to acquire particular ‘values and attitudes’ as stated in the curriculum (Curriculum Development Council, 2001: II-2).

The need to make available relevant resources to enhance students’ understanding of other cultures

Moreover, the new visual arts curriculum also indicates the importance of resources to support the teaching and learning of visual arts. The resources mentioned include ‘human, financial, community, school environmental resources’ (p.50). However, the emphasis is still on ‘teachers’ as the main human resource, that is, the main providers of knowledge, with artists and parents performing a role complementary to their teaching. No attention is paid to links between teachers from different schools, among teachers in different sectors, such as primary, secondary and tertiary levels, or with art professionals or practitioners: for example, fashion designers and craftsmen, who are not ‘artists’ in the strict sense. Because of my belief in Williams’ arguments that ‘Culture is ordinary’ and ‘Culture is a whole way of life’, I also believe that it is important to be more inclusive in our view of what constitutes an ‘artist’. Art includes more than just those works which are produced by professional ‘artists’ in the strict sense of the word.

The new visual arts curriculum also lists ‘community resources’, including ‘arts museums, museums, arts organizations or bodies, libraries, network of artists and

schools' (p.50); however, it does not indicate the need to make available a wide variety of resources which will represent a diversity of cultures, including, for example, high and low cultures, Asian, African, traditional and contemporary, gender art and so on. The same applies to the supply of information from 'reference books ...'. (*ibid.*). Without the support of such resources, students in Hong Kong will not be able to 'understand art in different contexts', as the curriculum frequently mentions as being one of its aims. At the moment we have no idea what art from the Philippines is like, although there is a large number of Filipino domestic helpers working in Hong Kong. This problem will persist if it is not addressed. Merely encouraging students 'to acquire information from diverse sources... books' (p.51) will not make them understand other cultures. Some strategic planning to achieve this goal is necessary.

On the other hand, modern technology has affected participants' ways of learning and modes of artistic expression; it has widened their knowledge of art from different parts of the world and of local art movements, especially in popular culture. It has had a strong impact on the content of art teaching. Art teachers should modify their teaching themes to address global trends and local particularities.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VISUAL ARTS EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

At policy or government level

- Steps should be taken to change Hong Kong's reliance on Western educational theories and curriculum models and to establish its own curricula according to local needs with consideration of different influences.
- Measures to ensure proper implementation of policy statements are required.
- Relevant resources to enhance students' understanding of other cultures should be made available.

- Measures to facilitate inter-school communication - between different ethnic groups, races, students of different social backgrounds, and so on. – are required.

At an institutional level

- Further research should be conducted into whether and how issues of power affect the teaching of art in non-Western contexts.
- The sharing of new pedagogies among art educators aimed at producing critical awareness and understanding of Others should be encouraged.
- Art education at tertiary level in Hong Kong should encourage dialogue and facilitate understanding between local people and people from other parts of the world to help offset the effects of the mono-cultural education in the primary and secondary school sectors.
- Pre-service teacher education should nurture reflective practitioners.
- Pre-service teacher education should nurture awareness among teachers of the power relations involved in teaching and the tactics likely to be used by students to resist the teacher's domination.
- Students should be taught to be critical and to be aware of their own subordination within the colonial and post-colonial condition and to value their own and others' cultures.

Changes required in relation to the curriculum

- The curriculum should combat the effects of stereotyping.
- Art should be studied in cultural context and social theories of art should be included in the curriculum.
- The curriculum should encourage interpretation of artworks to create multiple meanings.
- The curriculum should reflect the hybridity of Hong Kong identity. It should include more art from local, Chinese and other cultural sources. Students should be nurtured to value their own local culture.

- The Chinese art studied should be extended from aristocratic or 'great' art to include everyday culture, including historical traditions and contemporary popular culture.

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Consent Form

From knowing “I” to knowing “the Other”, bridging the gap between the two.

Dear Students,

I would like to invite you to participate in my research on the theme ‘From knowing “I” to knowing “the Other”, bridging the gap between the two.’ The study is about your views on different cultures in art. You are FREE to decide whether to participate in any or all of the activities involved. You can also withdraw at any time. Your decision will not in any case affect your relationship with me (the lecturer and the investigator) and none of the activities involved in the study will be assessed in any way. All your responses will be kept anonymous in the final report. You are welcome to ask any questions about the study.

The study is a case study. It is composed of five questionnaires and one interview. The questionnaires are to be done in pairs. For each questionnaire, two pairs will be required to tape-record their discussion while they are responding to the questionnaires. A small group of students will be invited to attend an interview after the first half of the module (taught by the investigator) is completed, to discuss their views and experiences in their studies of art and culture.

Please put a ✓ in the ☐ to indicate that you agree to participate in these activities:

Questionnaire	Content	Participation	Tape-record
1	Prior training in art	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree *
2	Study of personal identity and national identity	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree *
3	Identification of personal identity through cultural representations such as preferences in cultural art forms	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree *
4	Gender identities	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree *
5	Differences between old and new ways of life	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree *
Interview	Views and experiences in studying art and culture	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	#

* Only two pairs will be invited to tape-record their discussions for each questionnaire.

Pairs working on different cultural agendas for studying art will be selected to participate in the interview.

Please sign below to give your consent, with full knowledge of the nature and purpose of the study.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Ma So Mui (The researcher, Department of Creative Arts, Hong Kong Institute of Education)

Questionnaire One: participants' prior training in art

1. Select the items you encountered in primary and secondary school art lessons.

Put a ☒ in the appropriate ☐. You may select many items

		I. Western Art	II. Asian Art	III. Chinese Art	IV. Hong Kong Art
a	Painting & drawing				
b	Print-making				
c	Photography				
d	Computer Art				
e	Religious Art				
f	Sculpture				
g	Ceramics				
h	Crafts				
i	Architecture				
j	Functional Design				
k	Popular Art				

2. From the list above, which areas did you learn more about when you were at primary and secondary school?

(Choose 5 items. Put a ☒ in the appropriate ☐.)

The areas I learnt more about are

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
I											
II											
III											
IV											

3. What do you think are the factors that affect the emphasis of the primary and secondary school art curricula on these items

- ☐ Chinese cultural factors
- ☐ Western colonial culture
- ☐ Individual influential persons [Government (Education Dept.) officials, well known individuals]
- ☐ The attitudes of the general public
- ☐ Knowledge possessed by teachers
- ☐ Others (Please specify) _____

4. Which areas do you think primary and secondary school art curricula should develop in the future? State your reasons.

The areas which need to be developed are _____

The reasons are _____

Questionnaire Two: Aesthetic Preference

Bring an artefact/picture of an artwork that you like most.

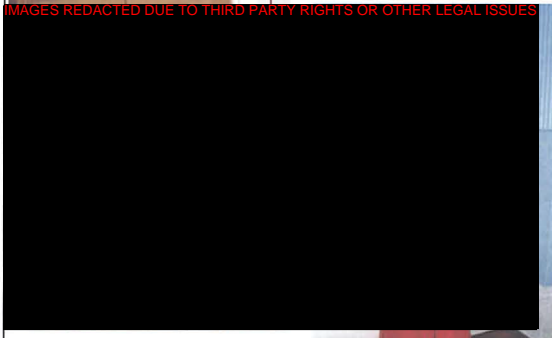

Discuss in pairs, put a $\sqrt{\quad}$ in the appropriate \square , and fill in the blanks with suitable answers.

I	The other
<p>1.1 What is your preference in art?</p> <p>(One member of the group answer this question)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> a) Popular art (commercial art, souvenirs, gifts, toys, products in daily use, etc.)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> b) High art (sculptures, masterpieces, historical works, museum collections, etc.)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> c) Folk art (crafts or other cultural products)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> d) Subculture (e.g., Tsang Cho Choi's graffiti)</p>	<p>1.2 Imagine that you don't like the art form your partner prefers, and you are in favour of one of the art forms he/she does not choose.</p> <p>(The other member of the group answer this question)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> a) Popular art (commercial art, souvenirs, gifts, toys, products in daily use, etc.)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> b) High art (sculptures, masterpieces, historical works, museum collections, etc.)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> c) Folk art (crafts or other cultural products)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> d) Subculture (e.g., Tsang Cho Choi's graffiti)</p>
<p>2.1 State the name of the artefact you have chosen.</p> <p>_____</p>	
<p>2. 2 What are the formal characteristics of the art work?</p> <p>a. <input type="checkbox"/> abstract: (<input type="checkbox"/> geometric / <input type="checkbox"/> organic)</p> <p>OR <input type="checkbox"/> representational: (<input type="checkbox"/> realistic / <input type="checkbox"/> simplified)</p> <p>b. <input type="checkbox"/> simple form/ <input type="checkbox"/> complex form</p> <p>c. <input type="checkbox"/> new and unusual form/ <input type="checkbox"/> traditional form / <input type="checkbox"/> common daily life form</p> <p>d. <input type="checkbox"/> with ornaments/ <input type="checkbox"/> without ornaments</p> <p>e. <input type="checkbox"/> cute and cartoonistic / <input type="checkbox"/> studio-type work</p> <p>f. <input type="checkbox"/> richly coloured/ <input type="checkbox"/> monochromic / <input type="checkbox"/> plain colour</p> <p>g. <input type="checkbox"/> tonal effect</p> <p>h. <input type="checkbox"/> with interesting textures/ <input type="checkbox"/> smooth</p> <p>i. <input type="checkbox"/> contrasting effect / <input type="checkbox"/> harmony</p> <p>j. <input type="checkbox"/> picture composition / <input type="checkbox"/> 3D structure</p> <p>k. <input type="checkbox"/> balanced spatial relationships/ <input type="checkbox"/> unbalanced but with focal point</p> <p>l. <input type="checkbox"/> linear quality</p> <p>m. Other information: _____</p>	

2. 3 Is the form related to function? a. <input type="checkbox"/> No b. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
2. 4 Does this form have any symbolic meaning? a. <input type="checkbox"/> No b. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes . What is its symbolic meaning? _____	
2. 5 Does the form of the work affect the meaning? a. <input type="checkbox"/> No b. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
2.6 Does this artefact carry a special meaning for you, e.g., a birthday present, an object that reminds you of a certain event, etc.? a. <input type="checkbox"/> No b. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes . What does it mean to you? _____	
3. 1 Why do you like it? (Choose 3 or less than 3 items) <input type="checkbox"/> a. Formal quality <input type="checkbox"/> b. High technology / new technology <input type="checkbox"/> c. Functional/multifunctional <input type="checkbox"/> d. Symbolic meaning, <input type="checkbox"/> e. It carries a special meaning for me <input type="checkbox"/> f. All my friends like it/ all of them have one <input type="checkbox"/> g. To show that I am educated <input type="checkbox"/> h. I was taught to like it <input type="checkbox"/> i. It is expensive <input type="checkbox"/> j. Under the influence of my parents or community <input type="checkbox"/> k. I am familiar with it <input type="checkbox"/> l. Other reason _____	3.2 State five reasons why you do not like the art form that your partner has brought with him/her. (Remember that you have imagined yourself to have a preference for another art form.) a. b. c. d. e.
4. Did you like it when you were a child? <input type="checkbox"/> a. Yes, state your reason _____ <input type="checkbox"/> b. No, state your reason _____	6. Should this art form which you don't like continue to exist? <input type="checkbox"/> a. Yes, state your reason _____
5. Will you still like it in ten years? <input type="checkbox"/> a. Yes, state your reason _____ <input type="checkbox"/> b. No, state your reason _____	<input type="checkbox"/> b. No, state your reason _____

Questionnaire Three: Cultural Identities

Discuss in pairs, put a \checkmark in the appropriate ☐, and fill in the blanks with suitable answers.

I	The other
1. What do you look in comparison to 'the other'?	
1. Describe yourself as if you are going to meet a person from the other country 1.1 Your facial features _____ 1.2 Your hair style _____ 1.3 Your height <input type="checkbox"/> a) Taller <input type="checkbox"/> b) Shorter <input type="checkbox"/> c) Similar 1.4 Your skin colour <input type="checkbox"/> a) Darker <input type="checkbox"/> b) Lighter <input type="checkbox"/> c) Similar 1.5 How you dress _____	<div style="text-align: center;">  Men and woman from Chad, Africa  </div>
2. How do you and 'the other' express yourselves?	
<input type="checkbox"/> a) Cantonese <input type="checkbox"/> b) Putonghua <input type="checkbox"/> c) Indian <input type="checkbox"/> d) Japanese <input type="checkbox"/> e) English <input type="checkbox"/> f) others _____	2.1 Language use <input type="checkbox"/> a) Cantonese <input type="checkbox"/> b) Putonghua, <input type="checkbox"/> c) Indian <input type="checkbox"/> d) Japanese, <input type="checkbox"/> e) English <input type="checkbox"/> e) others _____
2.2 How do you show your feelings?	2.3 Your perception of how he/she shows his/her feelings.
(In the public or before a stranger) <input type="checkbox"/> a) You usually show your feelings explicitly, e.g., laugh when you feel happy, cry when you feel sad. <input type="checkbox"/> b) Hide your feelings <input type="checkbox"/> c) Other comments _____	(In the public or before a stranger) <input type="checkbox"/> a) He/she usually shows his/her feelings explicitly, e.g., laughs when he/she feels happy, etc. <input type="checkbox"/> b) Hides his/her feelings <input type="checkbox"/> c) No idea <input type="checkbox"/> d) Other comments _____
Willing to ask questions/Eager to give your opinion to others <input type="checkbox"/> a) Yes <input type="checkbox"/> b) No <input type="checkbox"/> c) Other comments _____	Willing to ask questions/Eager to give his/her opinion to others <input type="checkbox"/> a) Yes <input type="checkbox"/> b) No <input type="checkbox"/> c) No idea <input type="checkbox"/> d) Other comments _____
3. What are your/ the other's habits and customs?	
a) List three kinds of food/dish you usually eat 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____	a) List three kinds of food/dish he/she usually eats 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No idea
b) What do most people around you wear daily? _____	b) What do most people around him/her wear daily? _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No idea
c) Do you have any national costumes? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, state its name _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No	c) Does he/she have any national costumes? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, state its name _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No

	<input type="checkbox"/> No idea
d) The most important event in your country is _____	d) The most important event in his/her country is _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No idea
e) How do you celebrate it? _____	e) How does he/she celebrate it? _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No idea

4. 1 List three significant similarities and differences between you and 'the other'.	
a) Similarities 1 2 3	b) Differences 1 2 3
4.2 In comparison to 'the other', what do you consider yourself to be? <input type="checkbox"/> a) Hongkongese <input type="checkbox"/> b) Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> c) Asian <input type="checkbox"/> d) People living on the earth	
4.3 Do you and 'the other' belong to the same family? <input type="checkbox"/> a) Yes b) <input type="checkbox"/> No	
4.4 State your reasons. 1 2 3	

5.1 Imagine that 'the other' person joins your class in Hong Kong, how would you view him/her? 1 2 3 5.1.1 How would he/she feel about himself/herself?	5.2 Imagine you were in the country where 'the other' person lives, how would they view you? 1 2 3 5.2.1 How would you feel about yourself?
6.1.2 What should you do?	6.2.2 What should you do?

Questionnaire Three A (for people from different countries)

Appendix II-Q3.2

1. What is your nationality?
2. What is your skin colour in comparison to the Chinese in Hong Kong?
3. Do you think the people in your country are taller or shorter than people in Hong Kong?
4. What language do the people in your country speak?
5. How do people in your country usually express their feelings in public or before a stranger?
Do you and people in your country usually show your feelings explicitly: e.g., laugh when you feel happy, cry when you feel sad, etc.
Or do you usually hide your feelings?
6. Are you and people in your country willing to ask questions or keen to express your opinions to others?
7. List five kinds of food/dishes you usually eat.
A
B
C
D
E
8. What do most people in your country wear daily?
9. Do you have any national costumes?
10. State names if there are any.
11. What is the most important event in your country?
12. How do people in your country celebrate it?

Pictures of people from different countries presented in Questionnaire Three

Yi, Yunnan, China, Asia 中國雲南彝族人	
IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES	

Japanese 日本人	
Fisher, Teresa, (1999). <i>A Flavour of Japan</i> . East Sussex: Wayland, p24.	IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Singaporean 新加坡人	
IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES	

Indian 印度人	Mamdani, S. (1998). <i>Traditions from India</i> . East Sussex: Wayland.p8.
IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES	

Ghanaian 非洲加納人	
	IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Mexican, South America 南美洲麥西哥人	Illsley, L. (1998). <i>A flavour of Mexico</i> . East Essex: Wayland, p1, 20.
IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES	

Greek, Europe 歐洲希臘人 Philip Steele. (1997). <i>Discovering Greece</i> . Hampshire: Zoe Books Limited, p13.	Greek national guard
IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES	

Swiss, Europe 歐洲瑞士人	
IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES	

Spanish, Europe	歐洲西班牙人
David & Wright. (1985). <i>Focus on Spain</i> . London: Evans Brothers Limited.	IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Ideal home

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



回到家裡，遠望開揚景致，您會更深切體會這種感受。

再走到這裡逾 35 萬平方呎的豪華住客會所及園藝花園、非一般「水上樂園」中數之不盡的泳池，還有 i.kids 天地等玩不盡的消閑設施，您能不心動嗎？

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



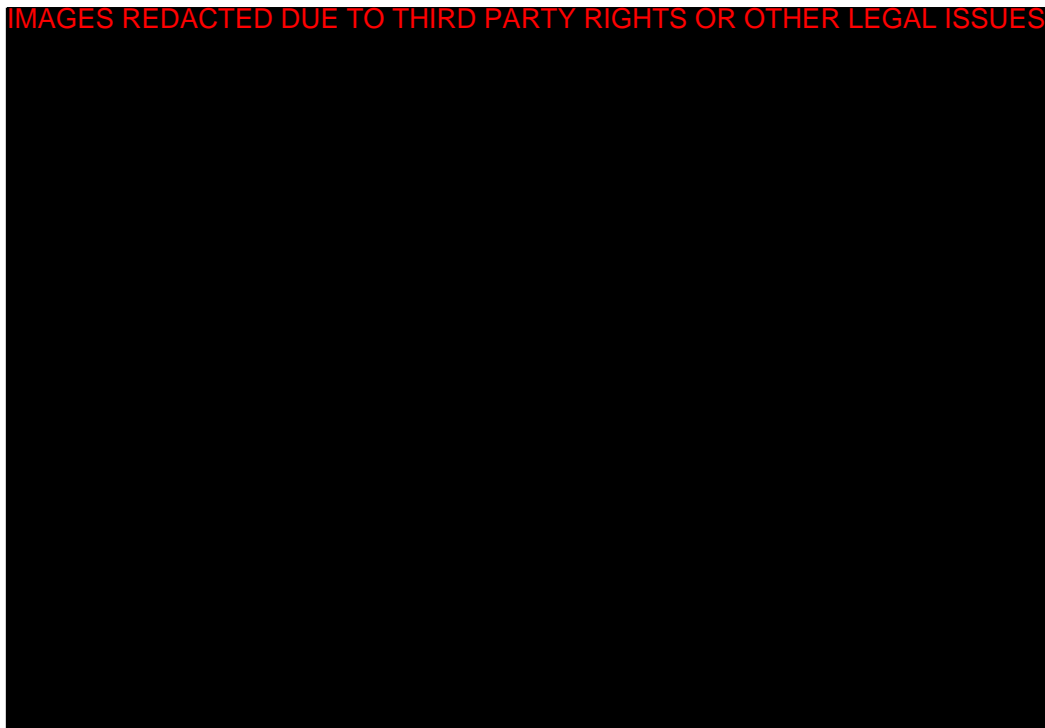
走過短短的天橋很快便到達 8 月啓用的東九龍地鐵調景嶺中轉站，毋須轉車，即達北角及鰂魚涌更可直接選乘觀塘綫往九龍各站，連交通也如此便捷，真的無話可說。

維景灣畔第三期面積由 546 至 1092 呎，備有一房至三房連多用途房單位可供選擇，實用率達 80%，部份單位更附設罕有露台。

(資料採自明報 2002 年 5 月 16 日 A1 及 A13 頁及網址 <http://www.oceanshores.com.hk>)

Information extracted from Ming Pao 明報 May 16, 2002, pp A1 and A13 and also ^{w2}*Ocean Shores*, website accessed 16 May 2002 <http://www.oceanshores.com.hk>

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大夫第

Questionnaire Four: Contemporary and traditional cultures

Discuss in pairs, put a \checkmark in the appropriate ☐, and fill in the blanks with suitable answers.

I, who live in the contemporary house	The other, who lived in the traditional house
1.1 With reference to the advertisement for a housing estate in Hong Kong, the following are emphasised as the conditions for an ideal home. Do you agree with them? (put a \checkmark in the <input type="checkbox"/> if you agree)	1.2 Compare the example of 'Tai Fu Tai', a scholar's mansion in Hong Kong built over 100 years ago, with a contemporary house in Hong Kong. State whether the conditions are the same or different. Describe the differences, if any.
<input type="checkbox"/> a) there is an open view outside, preferably sea view and mountain view <input type="checkbox"/> b) is in the form of a complex, with recreational facilities, such as club house, etc. <input type="checkbox"/> c) spacious and has a balcony from which to enjoy fresh air and outdoor scenery <input type="checkbox"/> d) is convenient for travel both locally and nationally <input type="checkbox"/> e) tall, multi-storey building, accommodates many families	a) <input type="checkbox"/> same <input type="checkbox"/> different _____ b) <input type="checkbox"/> same <input type="checkbox"/> different _____ c) <input type="checkbox"/> same <input type="checkbox"/> different _____ d) <input type="checkbox"/> same <input type="checkbox"/> different _____ e) <input type="checkbox"/> same <input type="checkbox"/> different _____
2.1 What do you think are the basic facilities that a contemporary house in Hong Kong should have?	2.2 Do you think that people living in the traditional house in the old days had these facilities?
<input type="checkbox"/> a) a lift <input type="checkbox"/> b) security staff on duty at the entrance to the building <input type="checkbox"/> c) electricity and fresh water supply <input type="checkbox"/> d) intercom facilities <input type="checkbox"/> e) telephone and internet <input type="checkbox"/> f) central TV antenna <input type="checkbox"/> g) a sitting room <input type="checkbox"/> h) individual bedroom <input type="checkbox"/> i) air-conditioning <input type="checkbox"/> j) window on different sides for light and ventilation <input type="checkbox"/> k) bathroom with shower and flush toilet <input type="checkbox"/> l) drying rack for clothes <input type="checkbox"/> m) kitchen with extractor fan, stove, refrigerator, washing machines	a) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No b) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No c) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No d) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No e) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No f) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No g) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No h) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No i) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No j) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No k) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No l) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No m) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

<input type="checkbox"/> n) others _____	n) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
3.1 How do you solve daily living problems?	3.2 How do they solve daily living problems?
a) Getting light and ventilation	a) Getting light and ventilation
b) Cooking and keeping/storing food	b) Cooking and keeping/storing food
c) Taking baths and disposing of human waste	c) Taking baths and disposing of human waste
d) Allocating bedrooms among family members	d) Allocating bedrooms among family members
e) Defending yourselves from outsiders	e) Defending themselves from outsiders
f) Communicating with visitors to your house	f) Communicating with visitors to their house
	4. How do you know about their fears from the appearance of the house?
	4.1 What are their fears? List three of them 1 2 3
	5.1 How do you know about their desires from the appearance of the house?
5.2 What were the desires of the people living in the traditional houses in the olden days?	
5.3 List three desires that are similar to yours 1 2 3	5.4 List three desires that are different from yours 1 2 3

Questionnaire Five: Gender identities



“An Angry Housewife” 《忿怒的家庭主婦》，

Earthenware ceramic by Caroline Cheng Yi 鄭禕，

a female artist in Hong Kong, who received training in ceramics in the USA.

Discuss in pairs, put a \checkmark in the appropriate ☐ , and fill in the blanks with suitable answers.

I	The other (as in the opposite gender)
1.1 A female member answers this column.	1.2 A male member answers this column. (If a male member is not available, then the other member of the group imagines herself to be a male and answers the following questions) <input type="checkbox"/> a) Male member <input type="checkbox"/> b) Imagines being a male member
_____	2. What do you think this “housewife” is angry about? <input type="checkbox"/> a) Doing all the housework <input type="checkbox"/> b) Doing some housework <input type="checkbox"/> c) Doing a little bit of housework <input type="checkbox"/> d) Other reason (please specify) _____
_____	3. Why do you think the artist calls the man a “housewife”? _____
_____	4. Do you think a man should do the housework? <input type="checkbox"/> a) Yes, he should do all the housework <input type="checkbox"/> b) Yes, he should do some housework <input type="checkbox"/> c) Yes, he should do a little bit of housework <input type="checkbox"/> d) No, he should not do any housework
_____	5. Why do you think men should do /should not do the housework? _____

(Choose five or less from this category)

6.1 As a male/female, what are your major concerns?	6.2 As a person of the opposite gender, what are your major concerns?
<input type="checkbox"/>	a. good physical appearance <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. earn sufficient money to support the family <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. marry a good husband/wife <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. enjoy life <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. earn a living for yourself <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	f. have social status <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	g. have high self-esteem <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	h. have job security <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	i. get along well with your husband's/wife's friends <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	j. take good care of family members <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	k. be filial to parents and parents-in-law <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	l. be obedient to husband/wife <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	m. teach your own children, make sure they have finished their homework and revised for exams <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	n. ensure that your children are admitted to a good school to pave the way for a university education <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	o. do the housework, keep the house tidy, prepare food for the family <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	p. have company of good friends to talk to <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	q. opportunity to stay away from the family for your favourite games or activities <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	r. have your own lifestyle <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	s. be independent <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	t. be a good boss <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	u. be promoted to a senior position <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	v. be the 'head' of the family <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	w. others (please specify) <input type="checkbox"/>

<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree	a. After marriage a girl is lost to the family	<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree
<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree	b. A family without a son is incomplete	<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree
<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree	c. Women are weaker than men	<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree
<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree	d. Yang 陽 represents day, brightness, the living world and men; Yin 陰 represents night, darkness, the afterlife and women	<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree
<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree	e. These jobs are suitable for females: cleaner, secretary, air hostess, nurse	<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree
<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree	f. These jobs are suitable for males: security guard, engineer, doctor, fireman	<input type="checkbox"/> agree <input type="checkbox"/> disagree
8.1 As a female, what circumstances produce tension in your life?		8.2 As a male, what circumstances produce tension in your life?

文晶瑩

《她們成長的禮物》(1996)

衛生巾、紅蛋殼及燈泡

「作品是關於女性的負擔—月經和懷孕」

Man Ching Ying

“A present for her growth I” (1996)

Sanitary napkin, red egg shell and light bulb

(The artwork is about the burden of menstruation and pregnancy)

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Do you think people in Hong Kong would consider this artwork as Art?

(Consider the subject content, the way the work is presented, method of work, the material used, etc.)

I		The other (as in the opposite gender)		
Might accept	Might reject	People in Hong Kong	Might accept	Might reject
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Student aged under 18	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Youth aged 19-30	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Men aged 31-50	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Women aged 31-50	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Men aged 51 or above	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Women aged 51 or above	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Artists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Art teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Teachers in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

List three reasons for acceptance and three reasons for rejection of the work as an art form.
(Consider the subject content, the way the work is presented, method of work, material used, etc.)

a b c	Reasons for acceptance:	a b c
a b c	Reasons for rejection:	a b c

Appendix III

TABLES

Chapter One

Table 1.1

Comparison of the 'Values and attitudes' between the *Learning to learn: Key Learning Areas, Arts Education* documents published in 2000 and 2002

<i>Learning to learn: Key Learning Areas, arts education, consultative document, 2000, (p13)</i>	<i>Learning to learn: Key Learning Areas, arts education, 2002, (p45)</i>
Identify their cultural values and attitudes as well as understand their origins and histories;	
Understand and value their lives, communities, societies and cultures in relation to the arts;	
Develop an understanding of how people express their personal beliefs, ideas, values, attitudes and feelings about the world;	Develop an understanding of how people express their personal beliefs, ideas, values, attitudes and feelings about the world;
Reflect upon and value their lives, communities, societies and cultures in relation to the arts;	Reflect upon and value their lives, communities, societies and cultures in relation to the arts;
Understand and value the relationship of the arts to the political and economic environment of society and how political and economic considerations influence arts practice; and	Understand how the arts relate to the political and economic environment of society, and how they interact with each other;
Understand how the arts transmit and reflect social and cultural values.	Understand how, through their art, artists transmit and reflect upon social and cultural values; Keep abreast of global trends and adapt these to suit the local context;
	Understand, respect and accommodate the diverse cultures and beliefs of different parts of the world; and
	Respect, appreciate and demonstrate open-mindedness towards art expressions that are different from their own.

Table 1.2

Number of articles published in the *International Journal of Art and Design Education* between 1997-1999 and 2000-2003 with focus on cultural issues

Focus of the articles on cultural issues	1997-1999	2000-2003
Theoretical concepts or cultural phenomena	24	10
Approaches to teaching culture		4

Table 1.3

Comparison of cultural issues studied in the articles published in the *International Journal of Art and Design Education* between 1997 and 1999 and those published between 2000 and 2003:

Cultural issues involved in the paper	1997-1999	2000-2003
Feminism/gender issues	8	1
Cultural traditions	7	
Identity	5	4
Cross-cultural perspectives/comparison/influence	4	3
Visual culture	3	2
Popular culture; marketing and culture; youth culture; cultural values of art; cultural participation; cultural representations; perception and promotion of culture; cultural styles; cultural literacy; culture of art museum.	1	
Cultural context/site		3
Globalisation of culture; cultural experience; art history related to cultural issues; socio-cultural activity-significant others		1

Chapter Four

Table 4.1

Subject content of the Art and Craft/Art and Design Syllabi for Primary and Secondary Schools in Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1980s

Primary, 1967	Secondary F1-3, 1960	Primary, P1-6, 1981	Secondary, F1-3, 1982	Secondary F4-5, 1982
		Basic Design	Basic Design (Art elements and design principles)	
Picture making	Painting and picture making	Picture making (Drawing, painting and collage)	Painting	Painting
Collage and paper mosaic				
	Chinese Painting			
	Figure drawing and plant drawing		Drawing	Drawing
Pattern making, Lettering	Design (pattern, lettering, printmaking,)		Graphic Design	Graphic design Pattern making
Poster, show card and book jacket design	Show cards (posters, packages and book jackets)			
Writing			Calligraphy and lettering	Calligraphy
		Printmaking		Printmaking
Craft (paper work, modeling, printing, weaving, wire figures, embroidery, bookbinding, puppets and masks)			Crafts	Embroidery
		3D work (paper, clay, wood, fabrics and threads)	3D design	3D design
Stained glass design			Sculpture	Sculpture
			Ceramics	Ceramics
Appreciation	History of Art Appreciation of Art	Art Appreciation	Art Appreciation	History of Art

Table 4.2

Major areas in the study of Art and Craft/Art and Design in Hong Kong in the 1990s

Primary 1-6 1995	Secondary 1-3 1997	Advanced Supplementary Level 1996	Advanced Level 1996
Understanding art	Understanding art	Understanding Art	Understanding Art
formal, technical, expressive, critical (visual elements and design principles)	visual language, art criticism (Processes: describing, analysing, interpreting and judging; Knowledge and skills: formal, technical, expressive, critical: Objects of study: our visual environment, works of art)	-elements -meanings	-elements, meanings, art criticism, art and society
Making art	Making art	Making Art	Making Art
drawing, painting, printmaking, design, sculpture, crafts	<u>Art forms</u> : drawing, painting, printmaking, calligraphy, graphic design, sculpture, ceramics, crafts, computer art, photography; <u>The design</u> : visual language; <u>Subject matter</u> : things related to students; feelings or imagination, beliefs or values concerning students' society, their nation and humanity; <u>Modes of expression or styles</u> : realistic, expressionistic, fantastic or surrealistic, abstract or formalistic.	-art of self-expression -art of application	-art of self-expression -art of application
Living with art	History of art	History of art	History of art
appreciation of the environment and appreciation of art	Western Art and Chinese Art	-general -period groups: Chinese & Western	-general -period groups: Chinese & Western

Table 4.3**The Final Report on the National Curriculum submitted by the Art Working Group in June 1991**

Attainment target 1:	Attainment target 2:	Attainment target 3
Understanding	Making	Investigating
Respond practically and imaginatively to the work of artists, craft-workers and designers.	Develop skills and express ideas, feelings and meanings by working with materials, tools and techniques and the visual language of art, craft and design.	Observe and record, make connections and form ideas by working from direct experience, memory and the imagination to develop visual perceptions.
Explore art, craft and design in a wide historical and cultural context.	Review and modify own work in relation to intentions.	Visualise ideas by collecting and using a wide range of reference materials.

Taylor, R. (1992). *The Visual Arts in Education: Completing the Circle*. London: The Falmer Press, 40.

Table 4.4**Art in the National Curriculum (England), published in April 1992**

	Attainment target 1	Attainment target 2
	Investigating and making	Knowledge and understanding
	The development of visual perception and the skills associated with investigating and making in art, craft and design.	The development of visual literacy and knowledge and understanding of art, craft and design including the history of art, our diverse artistic heritage and a variety of other artistic traditions, together with the ability to make practical connections between this and pupils' own work.
Key stage 1 Age 5-7, Year 1-2	Represent in visual form what they observe, remember and imagine.	Recognise different kinds of art.
	Select from a range of items they have collected and use them as a basis for their work.	Identify some of the ways in which art has changed, distinguishing between work in the past and present.
	Work practically and imaginatively with a variety of materials and methods exploring the elements of art.	Begin to make connections between their own work and that of other artists.
	Implement simple changes in their work in the light of progress made.	

(Table 4.4: Art in the National Curriculum (England), published in April 1992, continued)

	Attainment target 1	Attainment target 2
	Investigating and making	Knowledge and understanding
Key Stage 2 Age 8-11, Year 3-6	Communicate ideas and feelings in visual form based on what they observe, remember and imagine.	Identify different kinds of art and their purposes.
	Develop an idea or theme for their work, drawing on visual and other sources, and discuss their methods.	Begin to identify the characteristics of art in a variety of genres from different periods, cultures and traditions, showing some knowledge of the related historical background.
	Experiment with and apply their knowledge of the elements of art, choosing appropriate media.	Make imaginative use in their own work of a developing knowledge of the work of other artists.
	Modify their work in the light of its development and their original intentions.	
Key stage 3 Age 12-14, Year 7-9	Use expressive and technical skills to analyse and present in visual form what they observe, remember and imagine.	Identify the conventions used by artists and critically assess their effect.
	Develop and sustain a chosen idea or theme in their work, investigating and explaining their use of a range of visual and other sources.	Demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of the principal features of our artistic heritage and appreciate a variety of other artistic traditions.
	Apply a broad understanding of the elements of art and the characteristics of materials, tools and techniques to implement their ideas.	Apply imaginatively the methods and approaches of other artists in the presentation of their own ideas and feelings.
	Modify their work as it progresses, reviewing its development and meaning and explain the reasons for change.	

Department of Education and Science (1992). Art in the National Curriculum (England). Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 4-9.

Table 4.5
Number of subject-trained and non-subject-trained Art and Craft/Visual Arts primary school teachers

	Subject-trained		Non-subject trained		Remarks
	number	%	number	%	
2006	2522	49.9	2532	50.1	Visual Arts Subject
2005	2652	46.9	3003	53.1	Art and Craft Subject changed into Visual Arts Subject
2004	2761	38.8	3636	61.2	
2003	3176	40.9	3674	59.1	
2002	3095	38.7	3987	61.3	
2001	3011	40.1	4489	59.9	
2000					*
1999	2387	28.5	5974	71.5	
1998	2323	28	5985	72	
1997	2144	25.4	6299	74.6	
1996	2141	25.6	6206	74.4	
1995	2152	25.9	6154	74.1	
1994	2218	26.8	6047	73.2	
1993	2327	28	5978	72	

* ... Cultural subjects have not been included in the analysis because teachers of these subjects might acquire their subject training through courses other than those in formal academic or teacher training programmes (extract from Education Department (2001). *Teacher Survey 2000*, 58. Hong Kong: Education Department, Statistics Section.)

(Statistics Section, Education Department. (1994-2002). *Teacher Survey 1993-2001*. Hong Kong: Statistics Section, Education Department;

Statistics Section, Education and Manpower Bureau (2003-2007). *Statistics on Primary and Secondary School Teachers 2002-2006*. Hong Kong: Statistics Section, Education and Manpower Bureau.)

Table 4.6

Number of subject-trained and non-subject-trained Art and Design/Visual Arts secondary school teachers

	Subject-trained		Non-subject trained		Remarks
	number	%	number	%	
2006	778	89.3	93	10.7	Visual Arts
2005	767	88.5	100	11.5	Visual Arts
2004	785	88.6	101	11.4	Art; Art and Design; Visual Arts
2003	768	88.6	99	11.4	Art; Art and Design
2002	788	88.2	105	11.8	Art; Art and Design
2001	793	88.2	106	11.8	Art; Art and Design
2000					*
1999	779	89.5	91	10.5	Art; Art and Design
1998	740	89.2	90	10.8	Art; Art and Design
1997	727	88	102	12.3	Art; Art and Design
1996	731	88	100	12	Art; Art and Design
1995	674	88.7	86	11.3	Art and Design
1994	673	88.2	90	11.8	Art and Design
1993	648	87.3	94	12.7	Art and Design

*... Cultural subjects have not been included in the analysis because teachers of these subjects might acquire their subject training through courses other than those in formal academic or teacher training programmes

(Statistics Section, Education Department. (1994-2002). *Teacher Survey 1993-2001*. Hong Kong: Statistics Section, Education Department

Statistics Section, Education and Manpower Bureau (2003-2007). *Statistics on Primary and Secondary School Teachers 2002-2006*. Hong Kong: Statistics Section, Education and Manpower Bureau.)

Chapter Five

Table 5.1

Participants' qualification in Art

Have not taken HKCEE Exam in Art		Result in HKCEE Art										Result in A Level Art	
23.8%		76.2%										4.8%	
		A		B		C		D		E		B	
%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=
23.8	5	4.8	1	33.3	7	4.8	1	28.6	6	4.8	1	4.8	1

Table 5.2

Participants' training in art at their primary and secondary schools

9-2002 total n=21	Asian Art		Chinese Art		Hong Kong Art		Western Art	
	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=
Painting & drawing	28.6	6	47.6	10	38.1	8	90.5	19
Printmaking	4.8	1	23.8	5	23.8	5	38.1	8
Photography	4.8	1			28.6	6	28.6	6
Computer Art	4.8	1	4.8	1	28.6	6	28.6	6
Religious Art	14.3	3	23.8	5	19	4	33.3	7
Sculpture	9.5	2	28.6	6	23.8	5	57.1	12
Ceramics	9.5	2	28.6	6	19	4	47.6	10
Crafts	14.3	3	28.6	6	19	4	19	4
Architecture	14.3	3	28.6	6	14.3	3	38.1	8
Functional Design: e.g., utensils, fashion	4.8	1	23.8	5	52.4	11	33.3	7
Popular Art: e.g., comics, film	14.3	3	19	4	47.6	10	28.6	6
mean	11.3		16.9		28.6		40.3	

Table 5.3

Areas of strength in art participants claimed to have attained at their primary and secondary schools

9-2002	Asian Art		Chinese Art		Hong Kong Art		Western Art	
	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=
Painting & drawing	14.3	3	38.1	8	33.3	7	85.7	18
Printmaking			4.8	1	14.3	3	4.8	1
Photography					4.8	1	4.8	1
Computer Art					14.3	3	14.3	3
Religious Art	9.5	2	19	4	9.5	2	28.6	6
Sculpture			9.5	2	9.5	2	9.5	2
Ceramics			4.8	1	9.5	2	9.5	2
Crafts			4.8	1	14.3	3		
Architecture	4.8	1	4.8	1	14.3	3	9.5	2
Functional Design: e.g., utensils, fashion	4.8	1	14.3	3	28.6	6	19	4
Popular Art: e.g., comics, film	14.3	3	9.5	2	38.1	8	14.3	3
mean	4.3		10		17.3		18.2	

Table 5.4

Mean value of participants' training and areas of strength in Art at their primary and secondary schools

9-2002	Asian Art	Chinese Art	Hong Kong Art	Western Art
Training in art	11.3	16.9	28.6	40.3
Areas of strength in art	4.3	10	17.3	18.2

Table 5.5

Factors affecting the emphasis of the primary and secondary art curricula on these elements

9-2002	%	N=
Knowledge possessed by teachers	71.4	15
The attitude of the general public	42.9	9
Western colonial culture	33.3	7
Chinese cultural factors	14.3	3
Individual influential persons [Government (Education Dept.) officials, well known individuals]	14.3	3
Others (religion of school, mode of teaching and system of work)	9.5	2

Table 5.6

Participants' views on the areas that primary and secondary school art curricula should develop

Areas to be developed	Reasons for suggestions	N=
Creative thinking skills	Too great an emphasis in past art training on skills: lack of training in creativity.	1
Creative thinking skills	Lack of opportunities for creative training, too mechanical.	1
Creative thinking skills	Now children are living in a restricted 'framework'. They have no personality, nor any creative space, or perhaps they are restrained too much.	1
Students' own creativity	Hong Kong people are criticised for lacking creativity.	1
Students' creativity	To strengthen students' creativity and imagination.	1
Stimulate imagination	With imagination, children can create their work.	1
Creativity and production skills	Primary and secondary students are creative, but their creativity cannot be developed.	1
Creativity, nurture students' appreciation of self and towards others	Primary school curriculum is too rigid, not flexible. Students' creativity is undervalued.	1
Creative imagination and skills in realistic [drawing]	Insufficient training in skills and lack of creativity are obstacles to children's further development in art.	1
Art production	Harmful effect of examination-oriented learning environment. In order to obtain good results students follow others blindly. This limits their creative potential.	1
Art media production	Varieties of new art media emerging nowadays. Students should broaden the scope of their knowledge in different art media.	1
Different types of painting skills	Too much emphasis on oils, pastels, pencil and poster colour in schools.	1
Diversity	Students should be allowed to explore various media, to seek their own path of development.	1
Individual development	Everybody has his/her own potential/strengths in different areas.	1
Computer art	Computers are common. Almost every aspect of art involves computer usage.	1
Performing art	Insufficient.	1
Ability in art appreciation	This is insufficient in the current curriculum.	1
Knowledge of Chinese art	Hong Kong is part of China. Students should be familiar with the art and culture of their own country.	1
Art appreciation and cultural influence	These areas have a positive effect on students' understanding of and interest in art.	1

Table 5.7

Participants' choice of art forms as personal preference

5 paintings (including 3 Western masterpieces, 1 anonymous painting in modernist style, 1 appropriated from Egyptian mural painting)	1 child craft	2 containers with ornaments
---	---------------	-----------------------------

Table 5.8: Participants' formal analysis of their selected artwork

Title of artefact	Jan Van Eyck, <i>The Arnolfini Marriage</i>	Salvador Dali, <i>Raphaelesque Head Exploding</i>	Van Gogh, <i>Caf� Terrace in Arles</i>	'Art card' [original term]	Ceramic P.C. dog *1	Glass bottle [with painted decoration]	Wooden model aircraft	Painting on papyrus *2
Abstract		√*		√*				
Geometric				√*				
Representational	√		√		√	√	√	√
Simplified			√			√	√	
Realistic	√							√
Simple form	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Complex form								
New, unusual form			√	√	√*			
Traditional form	√	√				√	√	√
With ornaments				√	√	√		√
No ornaments		√					√	
Cute, cartoonistic				√	√	√		
Studio-type work	√	√	√					
Richly coloured		√*	√	√	√	√		
Monochromic							√	
Plain colour	√							
Tonal effect	√	√	√	√*		√*		√
Interesting texture	√	√	√		√	√*	√*	√
Smooth				√*				
Contrasting effect	√	√	√	√				
Harmony					√	√	√	√
Picture composition			√	√				√
3D structure	√*	√*			√	√	√	
Balanced space	√		√	√		√		
Unbalanced but with focal point		√*		√			√*	√
Linear quality		√	√	√		√		√
Form related to function	√	√		√				

V: participants' entry; *1 P.C. dog refers to the Japanese designed Pochacco Dog. It is a popular cartoon figure among youngsters; *2 content appropriated from ancient Egyptian relief on balustrade.

Table 5.9A

Reasons for acceptance and rejection of artworks

Title of artefact	Participant's preference		The Other's presumed standpoint: disliking the art form. Reasons for rejection	
	Reasons for support			
Jan Van Eyck, <i>The Arnolfini Marriage</i> , 1434		Symbolic meaning; I am familiar with it.	Too dull	Cannot work out its meaning; I have not reached the standard of the masters.
Salvador Dali, <i>Raphaelesque Head Exploding</i> , 1951	Formal quality	Symbolic meaning	The colour scheme creates a gloomy atmosphere; too monotonous; the lines are too boring.	Don't understand what it means; a sense of insecurity
Van Gogh, <i>Café Terrace in Arles</i> , 1888	Formal quality	I was guided to like it	Not creative	Lack of symbolic meaning.

Table 5.9 B

Reasons for acceptance and rejection of artworks

Title of artefact	Participant's preference		The Other's presumed stand point: disliking the art form		
	Reasons for support		Reasons for rejection		
'Art card'	Formal quality; Sense of the times	Symbolic meaning	Pays little attention to textural quality; lack of depth; superficial;	No contextual meaning (does not involve historical and cultural meaning).	Playful feeling; too cartoonistic
Ceramic P.C. dog	The form is unusual	Carries special meaning for me	Not aesthetically beautiful; forms are not desirable; no distinguishing quality.		Too childish/naive; it is a toy.
Glass bottle [with painted decoration]		Functional/ has multiple functions; carries special meaning for me; all my friends like it/my friends also own them.	Too common, not exciting; too ordinary		Too small; too old
Wooden model aircraft	Formal quality	Carries special meaning for me	The colour is monotonous; does not involve aesthetic elements; the form and structure are not outstanding; no characteristics		Lack of collectable [commercial] value;
Painting on papyrus [appropriated from Egyptian mural]	Formal quality	Symbolic meaning: religious art in Egypt; carries special meaning for me: I like Egypt (both place and art)	Simple structure; too complex, lack of systematic organisation; too common		Absence of a sense of nobility; for ordinary people

Table 5.10

Participants' preferences in art

Title of artefact	<i>The Arnolfini Marriage</i>	*2 <i>Raphaellesque Head Exploding</i>	<i>Café Terrace in Arles</i>	'Art card' [original term]	Ceramic P.C. dog	Glass bottle	Wooden model aircraft	Painting on papyrus
Participant's identification	Popular art *1 [High art]	High art	High art	Popular art and folk art	Popular art	Popular art	Popular art	Folk art
Perceived other's identification	Popular art and subculture	Popular art	Popular art	High art	Folk art	Folk art	Folk art	High art

Remarks: Popular art refers to commercial art, souvenirs, gifts, toys, products in daily use, and so on. High art refers to sculptures, masterpieces, historical work, museum collections, and so on. Folk art refers to crafts or other cultural products. Subculture refers to Tsang Cho Choi's graffiti, for example.

* 1 Amended category: to resubmit the missing information on "high art". Towards the end of the tape recording, the participant, Joe, used the term 'high art' to describe this artwork. Joe asked, "Do you like this 'high' art?" Moreover, Joe made two choices in this category. It could therefore be deduced that the participant, Lily, had forgotten to indicate "high art" for *The Arnolfini Marriage*.

*2 Original information given by participant: "Fried eggs on the plate without the plate". My analysis: This mistake may be due to carelessness or it may reflect the participant's superficial understanding of this work before selecting it as her preference.

Chapter Six

Table 6.1

Perceptions of people from different countries of their skin colour when comparing themselves with Hong Kong people

Darker	Lighter	Same/yellow	I don't know
Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi	British, South African	Yellow: Singaporean, Korean; Same: Taiwanese, Vietnamese, Indian; Same and a bit paler white: Japanese	Greek
Brown	Pale pinkish white	Same	Special remarks
Nigerian (British), Australian (South African)	Canadian	Peruvian, Maltese, Swiss	Mexican
Black	White		
Ghanaian, Chadean	English, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish		

Table 6.2

Perceptions of people from different countries of their height compared with that of Hong Kong people

	Taller	Slightly taller, some are taller, etc.	Similar	I have no idea/other remarks
Female	Indian, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, Chadean, South African, Australian (South African), Nigerian (British)	Japanese, Korean, Italian, Spanish, Swiss	Taiwanese, Peruvian, Canadian	Korean, Vietnamese, Mexican
Male	Korean, Singaporean, Ghanaian, British/English, German, Greek, Maltese			

Table 6.3

Common food among Asian people

People listing the food that they usually eat		rice	soup	curry	lentils
Asian countries	Hong Kong people, Korean, Taiwanese, Vietnamese, Japanese	√	√		
	Singaporean	√	√	√	
	Sri Lankan	√		√	
	Indian	√		√	√
	Bangladeshi	√			√
Non-Asian countries	Nigerian, Canadian, Peruvian and Spanish	√			
	British			√	

Table 6.4

Common food among non-Asian people

People listing the food that they usually eat		bread	pasta	pizza	sausages	French fries / chips
Non-Asian countries	Swiss	√	√	√	√	
	Italian	√	√	√		
	German			√	√	√
	Spanish		√		√	
	British	√	√			√
	Maltese		√			√
	Greek, Canadian	√				
Asian country	Sri Lankan	√				

Table 6.5

Clothes people from different nations wear daily

	Asian	African/Australian	American	European
Western clothes	Japanese, Singaporean, Hong Kong people, Korean, Taiwanese, Vietnamese	South African, Australian	Peruvian, Canadian	British, Swiss, German, Italian, Greek, Spanish, Maltese
Men: Western clothes; Women: national costume	Sri Lankan, Indian			
National costume	Bangladeshi	Chadean		
No special indications/ special remarks		Ghanaian: [depending on weather]; Nigerian: only women's national dress is mentioned	Mexican: cannot stereotype	

Table 6.6

National costumes for different nations

Existence of national costumes	Asian	African/ Australian	American	European
For different gender	Hong Kong people, Taiwanese, Singaporean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi	Chadean, Nigerian		
For different ethnic groups or regions	Indian	Ghanaian	Mexican, Canadian, Peruvian	Greek, Italian, Spanish, Swiss
Yes, but nothing specific is mentioned				German, Maltese
No		South African/ Australian		British

Table 6.7

Important festivals in different countries

Nationality of respondent	Important festivals in the country						
	Chinese / Lunar New Year	New year	Christmas	Easter	Independence Day	Others	remarks
Yi, Chinese						Torch Festival (24th day of 6th lunar month)	
Taiwanese							
Vietnamese		√					
Japanese		√					
Korean		√				Harvest Day	
Korean						Chusuk (It's like a thanksgiving day in Autumn)	
Korean	√					Choosuk (similar to Chinese Moon Festival)	
Singaporean	√		√			Hindu Festival of Light	*1
Indian						'Diwali' Hindu Festival	
Sri Lankan					√	Sinhala and Hindu New Year (14th April), Wesak Full Moon Day (in May-the full moon)	
Bangladeshi						Kabadi (the national game of Bangladesh)	
Ghanaian					√		
Chadean					√		
South African			√		√		*2
Peruvian					√		
Mexican		√	√		√	*3	
Canadian						In Quebec, Jean-Baptiste Day. In the rest of Canada, Canada Day.	

Table 6.7 (continued)

Important festivals in different countries

Nationality of respondent	Important festivals in the country						
	Lunar New Year	New year	Christmas	Easter	Independence Day	Others	remarks
Greek				√			
Greek				√			
Maltese			√			*4	
English			√				
British			√				
Nigerian (British)			√				
Italian			√				
Italian			√				
German						Day of Reunion	
Swiss						*5	
Spanish							*6
Australian/ South African						Birthdays	

*1 Depends on the racial/religious group: the Chinese New Year for the Chinese; Hari Raya (the celebration of the end of the Islamic fasting month of Ramadan) for Malays (who are 100% Muslims); Deepavali (the Hindu Festival of Light) for Indians (who are mostly Hindu); Christmas for Christians (who may be Chinese, Indian or Eurasian, but not Malay).

*2 Christmas now but it used to be Republic Day, 16 December, commemorating the country's becoming a republic. Since the new political changes in the late 1990s, we stopped celebrating it and Christmas is a bigger [festival now].*3 Also May Day, 1968 students' movement for democracy, Columbia Day, Mothers' Day, The Day of the Dead, Virgin of Guadalupe Day, Posadas, and Wisdom Kings' Day.

*4 We have various national feasts (most people don't celebrate-mainly political connotation)

*5 1st of August is our national holiday. History tells us that on this day in 1291 Switzerland was founded on a specific lake shore by three men from three cantons (provinces), which became the first three of today's 26 cantons.

*6 There are a lot of events in Spain. Spanish people like to party. I wouldn't say that any one of them stands out.

Table 6.8

HK participants' perception of important festivals in HK

Nationality of respondent	Important festivals in the country				
	Chinese New Year	New Year	National Day	Christmas	I don't know
Hong Kong	80%	10%	10%	10%	90%

Chapter Seven

Table 7.1

Participants' identification of contemporary or traditional lifestyle in Hong Kong

1.1 Participants' identification of the stated conditions as criteria for an ideal home (with reference to an advertisement)		1.2 Comparison of life in the past and contemporary lifestyle in Hong Kong (with reference to 'Tai Fu Tai')		
Contemporary life		Life in the past		
	Agree or not	Same	Different	Identified differences
a	There is an open view outside, preferably sea view or mountain view Agree: 9 (100%)	4 (44.5%) (with mountain view)	5 (55.6%)	No sea view (3) With limited windows (1) Courtyard house, limited view of scenery outside the house (1)
b	It is in the form of a complex, with recreational facilities, such as club house, etc. Agree: 8 (88.9%) (no mention of IT facilities)	0	8 (88.9%)	Lack of modern amenities/Lack of amenities/Fewer amenities provided (4) Lack of club house and amenities (1) Mainly functional (1)
c	It is spacious and has a balcony to enjoy fresh air and outside scenery Agree: 9 (100%)	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	
d	It is convenient to travel locally and nationally Agree: 8 (88.9%) (not necessary because one can drive his/her own car)	0	9 (100%)	Remote, located in rural area, little contact with people from outside (4) Vehicles for transport are not available (1) Walk or travel by means of horse-drawn wagons (1) Travel by Sedan Chairs (1)
e	High-rise, multi-storey buildings, accommodate many families Agree: 5 (55.6%) (too noisy with so many people living together)	1	6 (66.7%)	Some are the same (1) Accommodate a single family (1) Courtyard house, large settlement of single-storey buildings (1) Lower (buildings) (2) Three-storey buildings (1)

Table 7.2

Participants' view of basic facilities required in a contemporary house in Hong Kong and those available in the traditional house in the past

2.1 What do you think are the basic facilities that a contemporary house in Hong Kong should have?		2.2 Do you think that people living in the traditional house in the old days had these facilities?	
	should be provided	available	Not available
Telephone and internet	9 (100%)	0	9 (100%)
Air-conditioning	9 (100%)	0	9 (100%)
Kitchen with extractor fan, stove, refrigerator, washing machines	9 (100%)	0	9 (100%)
Bathroom with shower and flush toilet	9 (100%)	1 (11.1%)	8 (88.9%)
Electricity and fresh water supply	9 (100%)	1 (11.1%)	8 (88.9%)
A sitting room	9 (100%)	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)
Individual bedroom	8 (88.9%)	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)
Windows on different sides for illumination and ventilation	8 (88.9%)	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)
Lift	7 (77.8%)	0	9 (100%)
Central TV antenna	7 (77.8%)	0	9 (100%)
Intercom facilities	5 (55.6%)	0	9 (100%)
Security staff on duty at the entrance to the building	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.2%)	7 (77.8%)
Drying rack for clothes	3 (33.3%)	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)
Recreational facilities	1 (11.1%)	0	1 (11.1%)

Table 7.3

Contemporary and traditional ways of solving daily living problems: illumination and ventilation

Contemporary life	n	%	Life in the old days	n	%
			Structural design of vernacular architecture/ natural ventilation system incorporated in the design of courtyard houses/sky well/ courtyard	5	55.6
Switch on lights/ neon-lights/electric lights	6	66.7	Light oil lamps/light candles	4	44.5
Open windows	2	22.2	Open windows	3	33.3
Air-conditioning	6	66.7			
Turn on fans	4	44.5	Use fans	2	22.2
Use electrical [appliances]	2	22.2			

Table 7.4

Contemporary and traditional ways of solving daily living problems: cooking and keeping/storing food

Contemporary life	n=	%	Life in the old days	n=	%
Cooking stove/Cooking utensils	2	22.2	Cooking stove	6	66.7
Microwave oven	5	55.6	Burning wood/charcoal/straw	5	55.6
Gas stove/gas cooking stove	3	33.3			
Refrigerator	8	88.9	Store in the cellar	1	11.1
			Kitchen cupboards with mesh	1	11.1
			Preserved the food using preservatives or salt/Soak in oil; Sun-dried	5	55.6
Cooking without fire	1	11.1			

Table 7.5

Contemporary and traditional ways of solving daily living problems: taking baths and disposing of human waste

Contemporary life	n=	%	Life in the old days	n=	%
Flush toilet	7	77.8	Toilet	2	22.2
Washroom/toilet/bathroom	3	33.3	Hiring someone to dispose of the night soil/[Night soil] treated by servants	4	44.4
			[Using] night stool/chamber-pot 馬桶 /spittoon	4	44.4
Water supply in bathroom	2	22.2	Carrying/storing water in buckets or containers	2	22.2
Shower	2	22.2	Using well/river water for bathing	2	22.2
Bathtub	2	22.2	Taking bath in a wooden tub	2	22.2
Water heater	3	33.3	Plain areas	1	11.1

Table 7.6

Contemporary and traditional methods of bedroom allocation among family members

Contemporary lifestyle	n=	%	Lifestyle in the old days	n=	%
A room for both parents: siblings, including brothers and sisters, share one room or each occupies one room	1	11.1	Parents or a couple occupy one room, a room for each single individual	1	22.2
The room for parents is larger	1	11.1	Room allocation according to the status of members of the family	1	11.1
Several members share one room	1	11.1	Larger rooms for boys, smaller ones for girls	1	11.1
A room for parents, sisters sharing one room	1	11.1	A room for each family	1	11.1
Room allocation according to functional needs	1	11.1	A room for each unit 房 of the family	1	11.1
A room for each person, except couples	1	11.1			
A room for each person	2	22.2	A room for each individual	2	22.2
With room partitions	1	11.1	With room partitions	1	11.1

Table 7.7

Defending oneself from outsiders

Contemporary lifestyle	n=	%	Lifestyle in the old days	n=	%
Entrance door/Locking the door/ Closing the main doors and windows	3	33.3	Closing the doors/Locking the doors/Wooden doors	4	44.4
Iron gate	2	22.2	Large main gate	1	11.1
Using security code locking system	1	11.1	Watch-towers at four corners	1	11.1
Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)	1	11.1	Beacon tower	1	11.1
Intercom facilities	1	11.1	Wall	1	11.1
			Informed by servants/Patrolled by servants	2	22.2
Security guards	7	77.8	No security guards	1	11.1
Management fees	1	11.1	Establish a close link between each other/Taking care of each other	1	11.1
			Keeping dogs	1	11.1

Table 7.8

Contemporary and traditional ways of solving daily living problems: communicating with visitors to one's house

Contemporary lifestyle	n=	%	Lifestyle in the old days	n=	%
Using the intercom facility	8	88.9	Shout loudly	2	22.2
Phoning	2	22.2	Through the door slit/through the spy hole	2	22.2
Using the internet	1	11.1	Face to face	1	11.1
			Message brought by servants and guest invited to main hall 正廳	1	11.1
Playing chess, drinking and gambling in the sitting room	1	11.1	In the sitting room	1	11.1
			Sending messages by pigeons	1	11.1
			Pay somebody a visit	1	11.1

Table 7.9

Participants' knowledge about the fears of past people as revealed by the traditional house

4. How do you know about their fear from the appearance of the house?	n=	%	4.1 What are their fears? List three of them	n=	%
Ward off evils/Fear of ghost and evils	3	33.3	Ghost and devils	5	55.5
Door deities	1	11.1			
Statues on the roof, ancestral tablets	1	11.1			
Four tall enclosed walls	4	44.4	Few windows	1	11.1
Use of strong materials to construct the house	2	22.2			
Defence against outsiders	1	11.1	Bandits	6	66.7
			Invasion by outsiders	1	11.1
			Contact with outsiders	1	11.1
			Greedy neighbours	1	11.1
			War/battle	1	11.1
			Wild animals/boars	2	22.2
			Natural disasters/wind and rain	4	44.4
The seniors lived in the rear hall	1	11.1	Separation from family members	1	11.1
Unknown	1	11.1			

Table 7.10

5.1 How do you know about their desire from the appearance of the house?	n=	%
The decorations denote a desire for posterity: "a hundred sons, a thousand grandsons"/large family	3	33.3
The wish for numerous descendants	1	11.1
Strong sense of family belonging	1	11.1
Filial piety	1	11.1
Peace/security/safety/harmony	3	33.3
Wealth	2	22.2
Success in Imperial Examinations (attainment of degrees and official position)	1	11.1
Direction of the house/Design of the house	1	11.1
Carvings	1	11.1

Table 7.11

Contrast between the desires of the participants and those of people living in traditional houses in the olden days

Similar desires	n	Different desires	n
		Three generations living together/Preference for large families/A large group of people living together (past)	3
		Preference for small families (now)	2
With private space for individuals	1	Do not like to live with the family (now)	1
A warm family	1	Hierarchical system operated in the family (past)	1
More time for communication among family members	1		
Hoping that the younger generation will have a prosperous future	1		
Have peace/harmony at home	4	The whole family is at peace/in harmony/to live and work in harmony and contentment (past)	2
		Defence against enemies (protect family members) (past)	1
		To have more contact with people from outside (now)	1
Become wealthy	1		
Health	2		
With decorations	1	Decorations on exterior walls symbolise good wishes (past)	1
Sufficient space/More space available/good <i>fengshui</i>	5	Extremely large/Spacious with good ventilation (past)	2
Well illuminated and good ventilation; more windows, for good ventilation and light	3	Desire for open views (now)	1
Reliable supply of water, electricity and gas	1	The toilet is far from the house (past)/Flush toilets (now)	2
Comfortable and stable/The environment is quiet and peaceful	2		
Sheltered/Protected from wind	2		
Repel insects	1		
		Demand for high technology/Telephone facilities available (now)	2
		Need entertainment/Demand for more amenities (now)	2
		Convenient transportation (now); Distant from the city (past)	2
		Nothing different	1

Chapter Eight

Table 8.1

Participants' views on what the 'housewife' shown in the picture is angry about

		Female n=7	Male n=2
a	Doing all the housework	5	2
b	Doing some housework	0	0
c	Doing a little bit of housework	1	0
d	Other reason	Children are not obedient	

Table 8.2

Participants' views on the reason why the artist calls the man a 'housewife'

Female n=7		Male n=2	
Because he needs to do/should share/have begun to share some housework	4		
Because he is specially assigned to do the housework	1		
There is a mop.	1	The apron	1
Because he is wearing an apron and he looks like a housewife	1	Because he is dressed like a household cleaner	1

Table 8.3

Participants' views on whether a man should do the housework

4	Do you think a man should do the housework?	Female n=7	Male n=2
a	Yes, he should do all the housework	0	0
b	Yes, he should do some housework	7	2
c	Yes, he should do a little bit of housework	0	0
d	No, he should not do any housework	0	0

Table 8.4

Participants' views on the reasons why a man should do/not do the housework

Female		Male	
Because he is also a member of the family/The 'family' is for all family members, a male is one of the members, therefore he has the responsibility for doing housework.	4	I think men should not cook rice.	1
Is supposed to	1	No reason!!!	1
There is nothing he should not do.	1		
Men and women are equal. Men are responsible for doing housework.	1		

Table 8.5

Summary of entries of participants' concerns regarding family, work and individual needs

	Female	Male
Family	12	3
Work	7	3
Individual needs	10	3

Table 8.5a

Participants' concerns regarding family, work and individual needs (detailed)

	6. What are your major concerns?	Female	Male
Family	marry a good husband/wife	5	2
	get along well with your husband's/wife's friends	3	1
	be filial to parents and parents-in-law	2	
	take good care of family members	2	
Work	earn sufficient money to support the family	2	1
	have job security	5	1
	earn a living for yourself		1
Individual needs	good physical appearance	2	
	have company of good friends to talk to	3	1
	have high self-esteem	1	1
	have your own lifestyle		1
	be independent	2	
	opportunity to stay away from the family for your favourite games or activities	1	
	enjoy life	1	

Table 8.6

Participants' views on gender stereotypes

	Female n=7		Male n=2	
	Agreed	Did not agree	Agreed	Did not agree
After being married-out a daughter does not belong to her natal family	0	7	1	1
A family without a son is incomplete	0	7	0	2
Women are weaker than men	2	5	0	2
Yang 陽 represents day, brightness, the world of the living and men; Yin 陰 represents night, darkness, the afterworld and women	2	5	2	0
These jobs are suitable for females: cleaner, secretary, air hostess, nurse	1	6	2	0
These jobs are suitable for males: security guard, engineer, doctor, fireman	1	6	1	1

Table 8.7

Reasons for accepting the artwork shown as art:

Female		Male	
Contains metaphors associated with femininity	1	Corresponds with the feelings of females	1
Puts forward some concepts that provoke in-depth thought/Has an artistic conception/Has content and ideas	3		
The artist has her own ideas and intentions to express/Unusual message	2	It has its own idea and intention behind it	1
Has symbolic meanings/meaningful	2	Has symbolic meanings	1
Sensational/expresses emotions	2	Adults have more experiences	1
Reflect the truth	1		
Creative/Unusual creation/original/the form is unusual and attractive	3		
The material used is unusual	1		
Unusual presentation method	1		

Table 8.8

Reasons for rejecting the art work as art:

Female		Male	
Don't know how to appreciate it/The concept is nonsense/Rather abstract	3	Don't understand what it expresses/ No personal experience	2
The material is rather 'sensitive' [initiates arguments]	1		
Problem with morality/It is a taboo	2		
The form is not outstanding/Too similar to daily life practices	2	The form is common	1
The material used is odd/the material used is odd	2		
Disgusting	1		

What people in Switzerland would consider to be the ideal house / the house of one's dreams:

The house should be detached, just for one family. Ideally it will be close enough to a bigger town or a city (to have all the possibilities for shopping, entertainment and recreation), but still somewhere a bit in the green area or close to nature. Shops and schools shouldn't be too far, and a nice neighbourhood is preferred.

The house will have a living room and a spacious kitchen, perhaps with a dining section within the kitchen. Kitchen facilities should include a fridge, a stove with a glass ceramic cooking [surface] (electric stoves are the norm in Switzerland), an oven and a dishwasher.

A real dream for many for the living room would be an open fireplace, but although this may be standard in the UK, it isn't in Switzerland. There will be a cable TV connection in the living room, and a phone in the living room as well as an extension in the parents' bedroom.

Ideally there will be a bedroom for the parents, one for every child and a spare one for guests that may be used as an office as well. All the rooms should be light and spacious. The bathroom will have a bathtub (sometimes alternatively a shower), a toilet and a washbasin. A window would be desirable.

All windows in the house will be double-glazed and they should have a nice view, different windows on different sides to get the morning as well as the evening sun. There is no need for air-conditioning in Switzerland (it is uncommon in private houses), but there is a need for central heating, preferably with gas or heating oil as fuel or alternatively a fully automatic wood-burning system.

In the basement there will be a laundry room with a washing machine and dryer. Around the house there will be a garden with a lawn and some flowers, but also a vegetable garden. There should be an area where people can sit behind the house with a place for a barbecue. On the street side there should be a garage for the car which is big enough to store bicycles and some gardening tools (e.g., a lawnmower).

Although many people dream of such a house, not everybody can afford it, and people may have to live in apartment houses. An ideal apartment house is small (e.g., not more than three or four storeys), with just a few tenants, has a lift and an underground car park. There are a lift and intercom facilities so you can open the door without having to go down.

Some people like to live on the ground floor where there is usually access to a small lawn so they can sit outside. On the other floors, a balcony is desirable. Ideally there is a washing machine and a tumble-dryer in each apartment (although this is not standard: usually it's in the basement and you have to share it). If there is a private one, it would either be in the bathroom or in a small storage room.

People would prefer a house that is not on a main road, i.e., in a quiet area.

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